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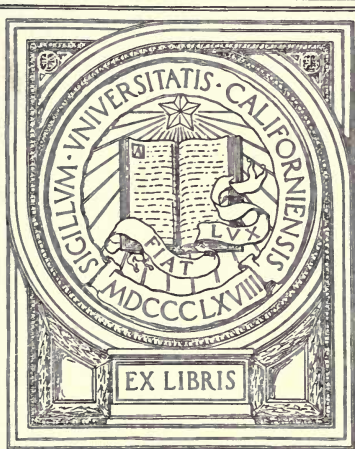
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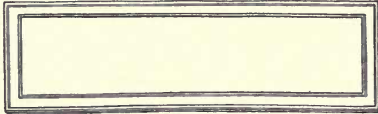
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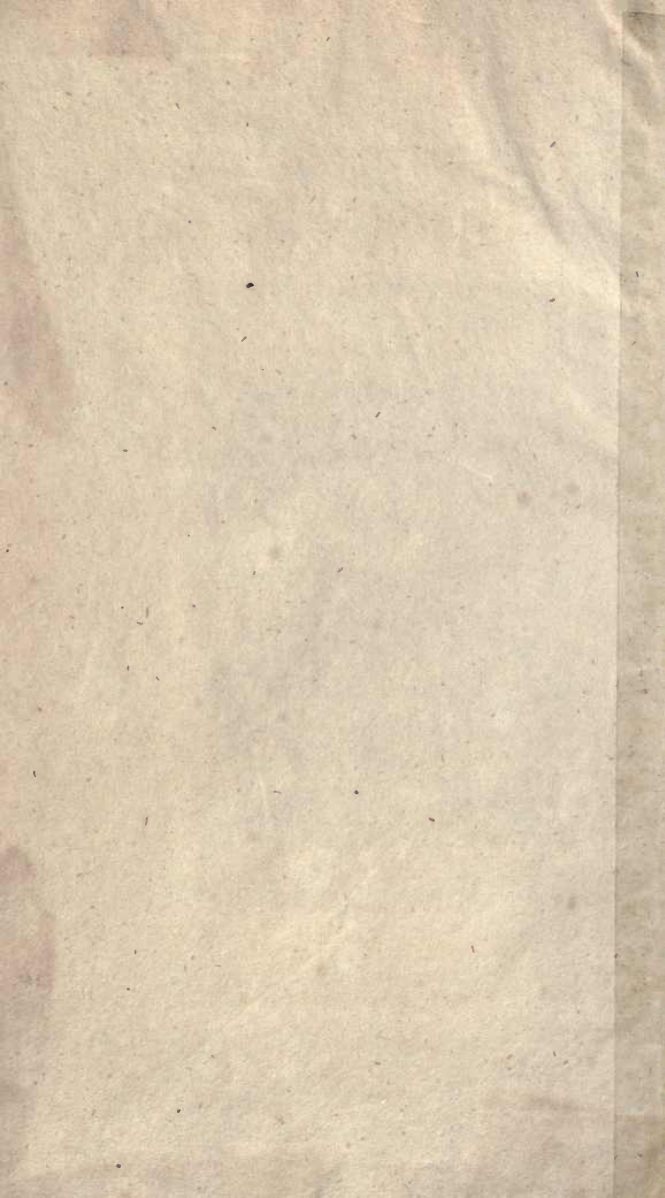
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FIRST REPORT

FROM THE

Committee of Secrecy,

To whom the several PAPERS referred to

IN HIS MAJESTY'S MESSAGE

OF THE 12TH OF MAY, 1794.

And which were presented (sealed up) to the House, by

MR. SECRETARY DUNDAS,

Upon the 12th and 13th Days of the said Month,

BY HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND,

WERE REFERRED;

And who were directed to examine the Matters thereof, and report the same, as they should appear to them, to the House; have proceeded, in Obedience to the Orders of the House, to the Consideration of the Matters referred to them.

Ordered to be printed 17th May 1794.

THIRD EDITION.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR J. DEBRETT, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON HOUSE,
PICCADILLY.

1794.

[Price One Shilling.]

FIRST REPORT

Committee of Secrecy

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

ON THE 12TH MAY 1896

BY MR. J. A. B. [Name]

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENCE

IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION ASKED BY MR. [Name]

ON THE 12TH MAY 1896

BY MR. [Name]

Ordered to be printed with the Report of the Committee of Secrecy, and the Report of the Secretary of Defence, in the House of Commons, on the 12th May 1896.

Ordered to be printed with the Report of the Committee of Secrecy, and the Report of the Secretary of Defence, in the House of Commons, on the 12th May 1896.

THIRD EDITION

LONDON

PRINTED BY THE STATIONER, STATIONER, AND BOOKSELLER, 10, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENCE

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REPORT, &c.

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THEY find, on the First Inspection, that the Books and Papers which they are directed to examine, contain a full and authentic account of certain proceedings of Two Societies, calling themselves The Society for Constitutional Information, and The London Corresponding Society, who appear to be closely connected with other Societies in many parts of Great Britain, and in Ireland; and the Committee also observe, from recent circumstances, which have already come under their observation, that these proceedings appear to become every day more and more likely to affect the internal peace and security of these kingdoms, and to require, in the most urgent manner, the immediate and vigilant attention of Parliament.

The Committee have, therefore, thought it their indispensable duty, in the first instance, to submit to the House the general view which they have been enabled to form of these transactions, reserving a more particular statement for a subsequent Report.

In the book containing the proceedings of the Society for Constitutional Information, which was found in the custody of the person acting as Secretary to the Society, there are regular entries of what passed on each day of meeting, from the end of the year 1791 to the 9th of May in the present year.

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From

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Dawson's

From these it appears, that during almost the whole of that period, and with hardly any considerable interval, except during part of the summer in 1792 and 1793, this Society has, by a series of Resolutions, Publications, and Correspondence, been uniformly and systematically pursuing a settled design, which appears to your Committee to tend to the subversion of the established Constitution, and which has of late been more openly avowed, and attempted to be carried into full execution.

The principles on which this design is founded are strongly and unequivocally proved, from Resolutions formed as early as the 18th of May 1792, in which the Society applaud the intention of publishing a cheap edition of the First and Second Part of The Rights of Man; and resolve, "That a copy of Mr. Paine's letter [informing them of this intention] together with these Resolutions, be transmitted to all the Associated Societies in Town and Country; and that this Society do congratulate them on the firm as well as orderly spirit and tranquil perseverance manifested in all their proceedings, and exhort them to a steady continuance therein;" and also, "That 3000 copies of the Letter and Resolution should be printed for use of the Society." This single circumstance would, in the judgement of your Committee, leave little doubt of the real nature of the designs entertained by this Society. Their conduct in other respects has corresponded with it.

On the 11th of May in the same year they vote an address, in terms of approbation and applause, to the Society of Jacobins at Paris.

They adopt a similar measure, under circumstances still more striking, by sending, on the 9th of November following, an Address to the National Convention of France, full of panegyric on the French Revolution, and expressing the strongest wishes for its progress and success. This Address was actually presented at the Bar of the Convention by two persons of the name of

Barlow

Barlow and Frost; and the answer of the President was read at the meeting of the Society on the 7th of December 1792.

On the 14th of the same month a letter is received from persons, calling themselves the Friends of *Liberty and Equality*, at Laon, capital of the Department de L'Aisne: and referred by the Society to their Committee of Correspondence.

On the 21st of the same month, certain Members are expressly appointed a Committee for Foreign Correspondence.

The Proceedings of this Committee are ordered to be entered in a separate book; and a letter received that day from the Friends of Liberty and Equality at Macon is referred to that Committee.

On the 25th of January, and on the 1st of February 1793, (at the eve of the commencement of the war, and after the repeated Representations which had been made on the part of the British Government, complaining of the conduct of France) the Citizens Barrere and Roland (then leading Members of the French Convention) are admitted Associated Honorary Members of the Society; and the speeches of Barrere and St. André (also an Honorary Member of the Society) as given in the *Moniteur* of the 4th, 6th, and 7th of January, are directed to be inserted in the books of the Society.

Subsequent to the Declaration of War, which interrupted this system of direct correspondence and concert with France, and down to the present time, the Society have continued, on various occasions, to manifest their attachment to the cause of the French Revolution; and have affected to follow, in their proceedings and in their language, the forms and even the phrases which are adopted in that country.

The next leading circumstance which has engaged the attention of your Committee, is the unremitting activity and diligence with which this Society have attempted to disseminate their principles, both by Publications

lications and Resolutions industriously and extensively circulated, and by endeavouring to establish a general correspondence and concert among the other seditious Societies in the Metropolis, and in different parts of England and Scotland, as well as in Ireland. With many of these, this Society appears itself to have carried on an immediate correspondence, particularly with those at Sheffield, Norwich, and Manchester, who have, on all occasions, taken the most forward and active part in these transactions. In their correspondence with Norwich in particular, as early as the 12th of April 1793, there is a passage which so clearly marks the real object which (whatever may have been their pretexts) they appear uniformly to have had in view, that your Committee think it right here to insert it :

“ Extract of a Letter from the Secretary to the
 “ Society for Constitutional Information, to
 “ the Secretary to the United Political So-
 “ cieties at Norwich ; dated 16th April,
 “ 1793.

“ Where then are we to look for the remedy ?
 “ To that Parliament of which we complain ?
 “ To the Executive Power, which is implicitly
 “ obeyed if not anticipated in that Parliament ;
 “ or to ourselves, represented in some Meeting of
 “ Delegates for the especial purpose of Reform,
 “ which we suppose you understand by the Term
 “ CONVENTION ?

“ It is the end of each of these Propositions
 “ that we ought to look to ; and as success in a
 “ good cause must be the effect of perseverance
 “ and the rising reason of the time, let us deter-
 “ mine with coolness, but let us persevere with
 “ decision.—As to a Convention, we regard it as
 “ a plan the most desirable and most practicable,
 “ so soon as the great body of the people shall be
 “ courageous and virtuous enough to join us in
 the “

“ the attempt. Hitherto we have no reason to
 “ believe that the moment is arrived for that pur-
 “ pose. As to any petition to the Crown, we
 “ believe it hopeless in its consequences. With
 “ respect to the last of the proposals, we are at a
 “ loss to advise. If the event is looked to in the
 “ vote which may be obtained from that body to
 “ whom this petition is to be addressed, which of
 “ us can look to it without the prospect of an ab-
 “ solute negative? In this point of view, there-
 “ fore, it cannot require a moment’s considera-
 “ tion. But if we regard the *policy* of such a
 “ petition, it may, in our apprehension, be well
 “ worth considering as a warning voice to our
 “ present Legislators, and as a signal for imitation
 “ to the majority of the people. Should such a
 “ plan be vigorously and generally pursued, it
 “ would hold out a certainty to our fellow coun-
 “ trymen that we are not a handful of individuals
 “ unworthy of attention or consideration, who
 “ desire the restoration of the antient Liberties of
 “ England; but, on the contrary, it might bring
 “ into light that host of well-meaning men, who,
 “ in the different towns and counties of this
 “ realm, are silently but seriously anxious for
 “ reformation in the Government.

“ We exhort you with anxiety to pursue your
 “ laudable endeavours for the common good, and
 “ never to despair of the public cause.”

But of all the Societies with which they correspond-
 ed, the two of the greatest importance are, The London
 Corresponding Society (which has been already refer-
 red to, and with whom, during this whole period, the
 correspondence appears to have been continually kept
 up) and the assembly which called itself The British
 Convention at Edinburgh. The first of these it will
 be necessary for the Committee to advert to particu-
 larly. The proceedings of the second are already suf-
 ficiently notorious. It is therefore only necessary here to
 add,

add, that on the meeting of the Constitutional Society, on the 25th of October last, after their adjournment for the summer, a letter was read from the Secretary of the Convention of the Friends of the People at Edinburgh, to the Secretary of the Corresponding Society—in consequence of which it was resolved, that there should be an extraordinary general meeting, to consider of sending delegates to a convention of delegates of the different Societies in Great Britain, to be held at Edinburgh, for the purpose of obtaining a parliamentary reform.

On the Monday following, the 28th of October, this meeting took place. Two delegates were chosen, and the following instructions given them :

“ The delegates are instructed, on the part of
 “ this Society, to assist in bringing forward and
 “ supporting any constitutional measures for pro-
 “ curing a real representation of the Commons of
 “ Great Britain in Parliament. That in specifying
 “ the redress to be demanded of existing
 “ abuses, the delegates ought never to lose sight
 “ of the two essential principles—General suffrage,
 “ and annual representation, together with
 “ the unalienable right in the people to reform.
 “ And that a reasonable and known compensation
 “ ought to be made to the representatives of
 “ the Nation, by a national contribution.

“ That the delegates do punctually correspond
 “ with the society, for the purpose of communicating
 “ information, and of receiving such further
 “ instructions as the exigency may require.

“ And it was further resolved,

“ That the society be desired to write to the
 “ different societies with which this society is in
 “ correspondence, informing them, that the London
 “ Corresponding Society, together with this
 “ society, have elected delegates to the Convention
 “ of Delegates to meet at Edinburgh on the
 “ 29th

“ 29th instant, and to request their concurrence
 “ in this important measure.”

The delegate appears, according to his instructions, to have corresponded with the Secretary of the society; but no resolutions are entered on the subject, till the 17th of January, subsequent to the apprehension and trial of several of the members of the Convention at Edinburgh. On that day the society passed the following resolutions :

“ Resolved, That law ceases to be an object
 “ of obedience whenever it becomes an instru-
 “ ment of oppression.

“ Resolved, that we call to mind, with the
 “ deepest satisfaction, the merited fate of the in-
 “ famous Jeffries, once Lord Chief Justice of
 “ England, who, at the æra of the glorious Re-
 “ volution, for the many iniquitous sentences
 “ which he had passed, was torn to pieces by a
 “ brave and injured people,

“ Resolved, That those who imitate his exam-
 “ ple deserve his fate.

“ Resolved, That the Tweed, though it may
 “ divide countries, ought not, and does not make
 “ a separation between those principles of com-
 “ mon severity in which Englishmen and Scotch-
 “ men are equally interested; that injustice in
 “ Scotland is injustice in England; and that the
 “ safety of Englishmen is endangered whenever
 “ their brethren in Scotland, for a conduct which
 “ entitles them to the approbation of all wise,
 “ and the support of all brave men, are sentenced
 “ to Botany Bay; a punishment hitherto inflicted
 “ only on felons.

“ Resolved, That we see with regret, but we
 “ see without fear, that the period is fast approach-
 “ ing, when the liberties of Britons must depend
 “ not upon reason, to which they have long ap-
 “ pealed, nor on their powers of expressing it,
 “ but on their firm and undaunted resolution to

“ oppose tyranny by the same means by which it is exercised.

“ Resolved, That we approve of the conduct of the British Convention, who, though assailed by force, have not been answered by arguments; and who, unlike the members of a certain assembly, have no interest distinct from the common body of the people.

“ Resolved, That a copy of the above resolutions be transmitted to Citizen Skirving, Secretary to the British Convention, who is now imprisoned under colour of law in the Talbooth of Edinburgh.”

Subsequent to this period the books of the society are full of repeated declarations of approbation and attachment, addressed to Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerrald, the persons recently convicted of sedition by the Court of Justiciary in Scotland; and of the most violent and inflammatory attacks on the proceedings of that court.

Your Committee have thus far traced separately some of the leading proceedings of this society, as appearing from the entries in their own books. Before they take notice of those of a more recent date, and which are in the present moment of more immediate importance, it becomes necessary to give an account of the other society, called The London Corresponding Society, because the measures which have been adopted during the last six weeks, appear to have been the result of a more particular and intimate concert between the two societies.

It appears from the evidence before your Committee, that the London Corresponding Society meets occasionally in a body, but that its ordinary meetings are in separate divisions in different parts of the town; that the number of these divisions has been gradually increasing; and that there are now about thirty of them established. That there is a secretary to each division, another to the whole body, and a general committee,

mittee formed from one member of each division.—That when the society originally met (which is stated to have been in 1792), it consisted of about two hundred persons, but that in about six months it had considerably increased, and it was agreed that it should divide itself into ten different divisions; that afterwards it was the plan, that when the numbers of any division amounted to more than thirty, they should divide themselves again.—That this has not been strictly adhered to; but nevertheless, in some instances, several separate divisions have been formed out of one. One of these divisions is said now to consist of six hundred persons, and the number of the others to be various.

It farther appears, that this society has been in the habit of corresponding with the societies in the country, particularly at Sheffield, Manchester, Bristol, Coventry, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester Norwich, Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle upon Tyne, Róyston, York; Hereford, Edinburgh, and different societies in Scotland.

This society appears likewise; in the course of the year 1792, to have presented an address to the French Convention, of a nature similar to that from the Society for Constitutional Information, and to have communicated it to this latter society, in whose book it is entered.

The Committee are not enabled to lay before the House a connected statement of the proceedings of the Corresponding Society, from the time of its institution, as the Committee are not in possession of any regular journal of them. But they think it right here to insert a *printed paper*, which was found in the custody of the Secretary of the society, and contains an address stated to have been agreed upon at a general meeting of this society, on the 20th of January last.

[The following is a copy of the said printed paper.]

“ At a General Meeting of the London Cor-
 “ responding Society, held at the Globe
 “ Tavern, Strand, on Monday the 20th
 “ Day of January, 1794, Citizen John Mar-
 “ tin in the Chair, the following Address
 “ to the People of Great Britain and Ire-
 “ land was read and agreed to :

“ CITIZENS,

“ We find the nation involved in a war, by
 “ which, in the course of ONE Campaign, im-
 “ mense numbers of our countrymen have been
 “ slaughtered ; a vast expence has been incur-
 “ red, our Trade, Commerce, and Manufactories
 “ are almost destroyed, and many of our Manu-
 “ facturers and Artists are ruined, and their fa-
 “ milies starving.

“ To add to our affliction, we have reason to
 “ expect, that other taxes will soon be added to
 “ the intolerable load of imposts and impositions
 “ with which we are already overwhelmed ; for
 “ the purpose of defraying the expenses which
 “ have been incurred, in a fruitless crusade, to re-
 “ establish the odious despotism of France.

“ When we contemplate the principles of this
 “ war we confess ourselves to be unable to ap-
 “ prove of it, as a measure, either of justice or
 “ discretion ;—and if we are to form our calcula-
 “ tion of the result, from what has already passed,
 “ we can only look forward to defeat, and the
 “ eternal disgrace of the British name.

“ While we are thus engaged in an expensive
 “ and ruinous foreign war, our state at home is
 “ not less deplorable.

“ We are every day told, by those persons
 “ who are interested in supporting the *Corruption*
 “ List, and an innumerable Host of *Sinecure* Place-
 “ men, that the Constitution of England is the
 “ perfection of human wisdom ; that our laws

“ (we should rather say, *THEIR* laws) are the per-
 “ fection of justice; and that *their* administration
 “ of those laws is so impartial and so ready, as to
 “ afford an equal remedy, both to the rich and
 “ to the poor; by means of which, we are said
 “ to be placed in a state of absolute freedom, and
 “ that our rights and liberties are so well secured
 “ to us as to render all invasion of them impos-
 “ sible.

“ When we ask, how we enjoy these trans-
 “ cendent privileges, we are referred to MAG-
 “ NA CHARTA, and the BILL of RIGHTS;
 “ and the glorious REVOLUTION, in the
 “ year 1688, is held out to us, as the bulwark of
 “ British liberty.

“ CITIZENS,

“ We have referred to *Magna Charta*, to the
 “ *Bill of Rights*, and to the *Revolution*, and we
 “ certainly do find that our ancestors did esta-
 “ blish wise and wholesome laws: But we as
 “ certainly find, that, of the venerable Consti-
 “ tution of our ancestors, hardly a vestige re-
 “ mains.

“ The only Chapters of the Great Charter,
 “ which are now in legal existence, are the
 “ 14th and 29th.

“ The important provision of the 14th Chap-
 “ ter runs thus:

“ A Freeman shall not be amerced for a small
 “ fault, but after the manner of the fault; and
 “ for a great fault after the greatness thereof,
 “ saving to him his contenement: and a mer-
 “ chant likewise, saving to him his merchandize;
 “ and any other's villain than ours shall be like-
 “ wise amerced, saving to him his wainage;
 “ and none of the said amerciements shall be
 “ assessed, but by the oath of honest and lawful
 “ men of the vicinage.”

“ But

“ But by the usurped power of the judges in
 “ assessing Fines (and what fines!!) in the cases
 “ of misdemeanour, this glorious right of the sub-
 “ ject, of having these fines assessed by a jury,
 “ (the only possible protection from slavery and
 “ the vilest oppression) is unjustly and infamously
 “ ravished from us.

“ The provision of the 29th chapter runs thus :
 “ No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or
 “ be disseised of his freehold, or liberties, or free
 “ customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or any
 “ otherwise destroyed, nor we will not pass upon
 “ upon him, nor condemn him, but by the law-
 “ ful judgement of his peers, or by the law of the
 “ land. We will sell to no man, we will not deny,
 “ or defer to any man, either justice or right.”

“ The various methods now in constant prac-
 “ tice by which the benefits of this provision are
 “ totally defeated and destroyed, might induce
 “ us to suppose, that the GREAT CHARTER
 “ has been repealed; if we did not assuredly
 “ know, that it is the fundamental basis of our
 “ constitution; which even the REAL represen-
 “ tatives of the people (much less the miserable
 “ nominees of HELSTONE and OLD SA-
 “ RUM) have not the right, nor (as we trust it
 “ will be found by experience) the POWER to
 “ repeal. Yet what do we find in practice? Un-
 “ constitutional and illegal INFORMATIONS
 “ EX OFFICIO, that is, the arbitrary will of
 “ the King’s Attorney General usurping the of-
 “ fice of the ACCUSING jury; and the inter-
 “ rested oath of a vile common informer, with
 “ the judgement of as vile a common trading or
 “ pensioned justice, substituted in the room of
 “ our birth-right, an impartial trial *by our coun-
 “ try.*

“ Add to this, that the exorbitant expense of
 “ judicial proceedings, the novel practice of ar-
 “ bitrarily

“ bitrarily and repeatedly annulling the verdicts
 “ of juries, and the dilatory practice of the courts,
 “ most openly and shamefully contradict the
 “ clause which forbids the denial, the delay, and
 “ the sale of justice.

“ A man accused of FELONY (for which by
 “ the common law of England, his life and goods
 “ are forfeited) may be bailed on finding two
 “ sureties for forty pounds each; but upon a
 “ charge of MISDEMEANOUR by *words* only,
 “ bail to the amount of ONE THOUSAND
 “ POUNDS has been demanded.

“ Upon conviction also, for such misdemea-
 “ nour, enormous fines, long and cruel impris-
 “ onments, unknown to our ancient laws, and
 “ unsanctioned by any new statutes, have of late
 “ (and but of late) been too frequently, and too
 “ oppressively inflicted. And all this although
 “ by this bill of rights it is declared, that “ ex-
 “ cessive bail shall not be demanded, nor cruel
 “ and unusual punishments inflicted.”

“ If we look to IRELAND we find that ac-
 “ knowledged privilege of the people, to meet
 “ for the support and protection of their rights
 “ and liberties, is attempted, by terror, to be
 “ taken away by a late infamous act of parlia-
 “ ment : whilst titles of honour---no, but of dis-
 “ honour---are lavished ; and new sources of cor-
 “ ruption opened, to gratify the greedy prostitu-
 “ tion of those, who are the instruments of this
 “ oppression.

“ In SCOTLAND, the wicked hand of power
 “ has been impudently exerted, without even the
 “ wretched formality of an act of parliament.
 “ Magistrates have forcibly intruded into the
 “ peaceful and lawful meetings of freemen ; and,
 “ by force, (not only without law, but against
 “ law) have, under colour of magisterial office,
 “ inter-

“ interrupted their deliberations, and prevented
 “ their association:

“ The wisdom and good conduct of the BRI-
 “ TISH CONVENTION at Edinburgh has been
 “ such, as to defy their bitterest enemies to name
 “ the law which they have broken; notwith-
 “ standing which, their papers have been seized,
 “ and made use of as evidence against them, and
 “ many virtuous and meritorious individuals
 “ have been, as cruelly as unjustly, for their vir-
 “ tuous actions disgraced and destroyed by infa-
 “ mous and illegal sentences of transportation.
 “ And these unjust and wicked judgements have
 “ been executed with a rancour and malignity
 “ never before known in this land; our respec-
 “ table and beloved fellow Citizens have been
 “ cast FETTERED into dungeons amongst felons
 “ in the Hulks, to which they were not sen-
 “ tenced.

“ CITIZENS,

“ We all approve the sentiments, and are daily
 “ repeating the words, for which these our re-
 “ spectable and valuable brethren are thus un-
 “ justly and inhumanly suffering. We, too as-
 “ sociate in order to obtain a fair, free, and full
 “ representation of the people in a house of real
 “ national representatives. Are we also willing
 “ to be treated as FELONS, for claiming this our
 “ inherent right, which we are determined never
 “ to forego but with our lives, and which none
 “ but thieves and traitors can wish to withhold
 “ from us? Consider, it is one and the same cor-
 “ rupt and corrupting influence which at this
 “ time domineers in Ireland, Scotland, and Eng-
 “ land. Can you believe, that those who send
 “ virtuous Irishmen and Scotchmen fettered with
 “ felons to Botany Bay, do not meditate, and
 “ will

“ will not attempt to seize the first moment to
 “ send us after them? Or if we had not just cause
 “ to apprehend the same inhuman treatment; if,
 “ instead of the most imminent danger, we were
 “ in perfect safety from it, should we not disdain
 “ to enjoy any liberty or privilege whatever, in
 “ which our honest Irish and Scotch brethren did
 “ not equally and as fully participate with us?—
 “ Their cause then and ours is the same. And it is
 “ both our duty and our interest to stand or fall
 “ together. The Irish Parliament and the Scotch
 “ Judges, actuated by the same English influence,
 “ have brought us directly to the point. There
 “ is no farther step beyond that which they have
 “ taken. We are at issue. We must now chuse
 “ at once either liberty or slavery for ourselves
 “ and our posterity. Will you wait till BAR-
 “ RACKS are erected in every village, and till
 “ *subsidized* Hessians and Hanoverians are upon
 “ us?

“ You may ask, perhaps, by what means shall
 “ we seek redress?

“ We answer, that men in a state of civilized
 “ society are bound to seek redress of the grie-
 “ vances from the laws, as long as any redress
 “ can be obtained by the laws. But our common
 “ Master whom we serve (whose law is a law of
 “ liberty, and whose service is perfect freedom)
 “ has taught us not to expect to gather grapes
 “ from thorns, nor figs from thistles. We must
 “ have redress from our own laws and not from
 “ the laws of our plunderers, enemies, and op-
 “ pressors.

“ THERE IS NO REDRESS FOR A NA-
 “ TION CIRCUMSTANCED AS WE ARE,
 “ BUT IN A FAIR, FREE, AND FULL RE-
 “ PRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE.”

“ RESOLVED, That during the ensuing session of Parliament, the general committee of this society do meet daily, for the purpose of watching the proceedings of the parliament and of the administration of the government of this country. And that upon the first introduction of any bill, or motion inimical to the liberties of the people, such as for **LANDING FOREIGN TROOPS IN GREAT BRITAIN or IRELAND**, for suspending the **HABEAS CORPUS ACT**, for proclaiming **MARTIAL LAW**, FOR PREVENTING THE PEOPLE from MEETING IN SOCIETIES for CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION, or any OTHER INNOVATION of a similar nature, that, on any of these emergencies, the general committee shall issue summonses to the delegates of each division, and also to the secretaries of the different societies affiliated and corresponding with this society, forthwith to call a **GENERAL CONVENTION** of the PEOPLE, to be held at such place and in such a manner as shall be specified in the summons, for the purpose of taking such measures into their consideration.

“ Resolved, that the preceding address and resolution be signed by the Chairman, and printed and published.

“ J. MARTIN, CHAIRMAN.

“ T. HARDY, SECRETARY.”

“ COMMITTEE ROOM, January 23, 1794.

“ RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,

“ That a hundred thousand copies of the Address to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, voted at the general meeting, be printed and distributed by the society.

“ Resolved

“ *Resolved unanimously*, That the following
 “ toasts, drank at the anniversary dinner of the
 “ society, be printed at the end of the address.

“ I. *THE RIGHTS OF MAN*, and may Bri-
 “ tons never want spirit to assert them.

“ II. *The British Convention*, lately held at Edin-
 “ burgh; and success to the important objects it
 “ had in view.

“ III. *Citizen William Skirvin*, charged by the
 “ sentence of the Court of Justiciary with the
 “ honour of being the cause of calling that Con-
 “ vention.

“ IV. *The London Corresponding Society*, and
 “ other patriotic Societies of Great Britain and
 “ Ireland.

“ V. *Citizen Maurice Margarot*, the condemned
 “ Delegate of this Society; and may his *manly*
 “ and *patriotic* conduct be rewarded by the at-
 “ tachment of the people.

“ Citizen Gerrald then arose, and in a stream
 “ of inspiring eloquence, pronounced the just
 “ eulogium of this truly valuable Citizen, so
 “ emphatically called by *Citizen Aitchinson* (one of
 “ the witnesses on his trial) the SECOND SID-
 “ NEY. He concluded with wishing we might
 “ rather *die the last of British Freemen*, than *live*
 “ *the first of Slaves*.

“ VI. *Citizen Joseph Gerrald*, the other Dele-
 “ gate of this Society, now under prosecution;
 “ and may his concluding sentiment be engraved
 “ upon every British heart.

“ VII. The transactions at *Toulon*. May Bri-
 “ tons remember them as they ought, and profit
 “ by *dear-bought experience*.

“ VIII. *Citizen Hamilton Rowan*, and the other
 “ true patriots of Ireland; and may the authors
 “ of the *Convention-bill* find that they have com-
 “ mitted a *bull*.

“ IX. *Citizens Muir and Palmer*—May their sentence be speedily reversed, and *Botany Bay* be peopled with a colony of *real criminals*.

“ X. Success to the arms of *Freedom* against whomsoever directed; and confusion to *Despots* with whomsoever allied.

“ XI. All that is *good* in *every constitution*; and may we never be superstitious enough to reverence in *any* that which is *good for nothing*.

“ XII. *Citizen Thomas Paine*—May his virtue rise superior to calumny and suspicion, and his name still be dear to Britons.

“ XIII. *Lord Loughborough*, the *Earl of Moira*, *Sir Gilbert Elliot*, and the other apostates from Liberty; and may they enjoy the profits of their apostacy *so long as they live*.

“ XIV. A speedy and honourable *peace* with the *brave Republic of France*.

“ XV. The *starving manufacturers* and neglected *peasantry* of Great Britain and Ireland.

“ XVI. *Citizen John Frost*; and a speedy restoration of that health which he lost in the dungeons of Newgate.

“ XVII. The *virtuous and spirited Citizens*, now in confinement for matters of *opinion*: and may we shew them by our conduct, that they are not forgotten.”

On this paper it appears unnecessary to offer any comment, or to do more than call the attention of the House to the concluding Resolution.

On the 27th of March the Society sent a Letter to the Society for Constitutional Information, to which the Committee also feel it right to call the attention of the House, as it led to the particular concert already taken notice of, between the two Societies, and to the recent measures founded thereupon, which now remain to be taken notice of.

This

This Letter and the Resolutions of the two Societies in consequence, are stated in a *printed* paper, which was likewise found in the custody of the Secretary of the Society, a copy of which is here subjoined. They are also entered in the book of the Society for Constitutional Information.

“ March 27th, 1794.

“ To the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information.

“ CITIZEN,

“ I am directed by the London Corresponding Society to transmit the following Resolutions to the Society for Constitutional Information, and to request the sentiments of that Society respecting the important measures which the present juncture of affairs seems to require. The London Corresponding Society conceives, that the moment is arrived when a full and explicit declaration is necessary from all the Friends of Freedom. Whether the late illegal and unheard-of prosecutions and sentences shall determine us to abandon our cause, or shall excite us to pursue a radical Reform with an ardour proportioned to the magnitude of the object, and with a zeal as distinguished on our parts as the treachery of others in the same glorious cause is notorious. The Society for Constitutional Information is therefore required to determine whether or no they will be ready, when called upon, to act in conjunction with this and other Societies to obtain a fair representation of the people. Whether they concur with us in seeing the necessity of a speedy convention, for the purpose of obtaining, in a constitutional and legal method, a redress of those grievances under which we at present labour, and which can only be effectually removed by a full and fair representation of the people of Great Britain.— The London Corresponding Society cannot but

“ remind

“ remind their friends, that the present crisis
 “ demands all the prudence, unanimity, and
 “ vigour, that ever was or can be exerted by
 “ men or Britons; nor do they doubt but that
 “ manly firmness and consistency will finally,
 “ and they believe shortly, terminate in the full
 “ accomplishment of all their wishes.

“ I am, Fellow Citizen,

“ (In my humble measure)

“ A friend to the Rights of Man,

“ T. HARDY, Secretary.”

“ Resolved Unanimously;

“ I. That dear as Justice and Liberty are to
 “ Britons, yet the value of them is comparatively
 “ small without a dependence on their perma-
 “ nency; and there can be no security for the
 “ continuance of any right but in equal laws.

“ II. That equal laws can never be expected
 “ but by a full and fair Representation of the
 “ People. To obtain which, in the way pointed
 “ out by the Constitution, has been and is the
 “ sole object of this Society. For this we are
 “ ready to hazard every thing, and never, but
 “ with our lives, will we relinquish an object
 “ which involves the happiness, or even the po-
 “ litical existence of ourselves and posterity.

“ III. That it is the decided opinion of this
 “ Society, that to secure ourselves from future il-
 “ legal and scandalous prosecutions, to prevent a
 “ repetition of wicked and unjust sentences, and
 “ to recal those wise and wholesome laws that
 “ have been wrested from us, and of which
 “ scarcely a vestige remains, there ought to be
 “ immediately a Convention of the People, by
 “ Delegates deputed for that purpose from the
 “ different Societies of the Friends of Freedom
 “ assembled in the various parts of this nation.
 “ And we pledge ourselves to the public to pursue
 “ every

“ every legal method speedily to accomplish so desirable a purpose.

“ It was resolved by the Society for Constitutional Information, That their Secretary should assure the London Corresponding Society, that they heartily approved of their intentions, and would co-operate with them in obtaining an object of so much importance to the peace and happiness of Society. And that he also request the London Corresponding Society to send a Delegation of its Members to confer upon the subject, with an equal number of the Society for Constitutional Information.”

“ A Meeting of the Delegates from the Two Societies being held, they came to the following Resolutions :

“ Resolved,

“ First, That it appears to this Committee very desirable, that a Convention or General Meeting of the Friends of Liberty should be called, for the purpose of taking into consideration the proper methods of obtaining a full and fair Representation of the People.

“ Second, That it be recommended to the Society for Constitutional Information, and London Corresponding Society, to institute a regular and pressing correspondence with all those parts of the country where such measures may be likely to be promoted, not only to instigate the Societies already formed, but to endeavour also to produce such other Associations as may further the general object.

“ Third, That it appears to this Committee, that the general object would be promoted if a Standing Committee of Co-operation between the two Societies were established, for the purpose of holding personal communication with such Members of similar Societies in other parts of the country, as may occasionally be in

“ Lon-

“ London, and who may be authorized by their
 “ respective Societies to act with such Committee.
 “ The above Resolutions being reported to the
 “ Society for Constitutional Information, it was
 “ by them resolved, that the same should be en-
 “ tered on their books as part of the proceedings
 “ of the Society; and the Committee of Cor-
 “ respondence was appointed to co-operate with
 “ the Committee of the London Corresponding
 “ Society, in conformity with the Third Reso-
 “ lution.”

It further appears, from correspondence of a recent date between different Societies in the country and the Secretary of the Corresponding Society, that some time in the course of a few weeks past, circular letters had actually been sent to different parts of the kingdom, on the subject of assembling a Convention, and a *printed* paper to this effect has been found in the custody of the Secretary to the Society; which is here inserted, and which your Committee have good reason to believe is a copy of the circular letter referred to.

[The following is a copy of the said printed paper.]

“ CITIZENS !

“ The critical moment is arrived, and Britons
 “ must either assert with zeal and firmness their
 “ claims to liberty, or yield without resistance
 “ to the chains that ministerial usurpation is forg-
 “ ing for them. Will you co-operate with us in
 “ the only peaceable measure that now presents
 “ itself with any prospect of success? We need
 “ not intimate to you that, notwithstanding the
 “ unparalleled audacity of a corrupt and over-
 “ bearing Faction, which at present tramples on
 “ the rights and liberties of the people, our meet-
 “ ings cannot, in England, be interrupted with-
 “ out the previous adoption of a Convention Bill;
 “ a measure it is our duty to anticipate, that the
 “ ties of union may be more firmly drawn, and
 “ the

tary of the society, and which your Committee find has been circulated by order of the society.

This paper is here inserted (as follows):

“ At a GENERAL MEETING of the
 “ London Corresponding Society, held on
 “ the Green at Chalk Farm, on Monday,
 “ the 14th of April, 1794, J. LOVETT
 “ in the chair, *The following letters were*
 “ *read:*

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SOCIETY OF
 THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE.

“ SIR,

“ AT a crisis so important as the present,
 “ there needs no apology on the part of the *Lon-*
 “ *don Corresponding Society*, for addressing itself
 “ to all other associated societies, who have in
 “ view the same object as themselves.

“ To the ‘*Society of the Friends of the People,*’
 “ arguments are not wanting to shew the im-
 “ portance and absolute necessity of a full and
 “ fair representation of the people of Great
 “ Britain. *They* have investigated the subject for
 “ themselves; *they* have exposed to the world a
 “ series of plain and indisputable facts, which
 “ must excite in the mind of every man well
 “ disposed to his country, apprehensions of alarm
 “ for the security of the few remaining vestiges
 “ of liberty, from which, as Britons, we derive
 “ consolation.

“ Deeply impressed with considerations of this
 “ nature, the London Corresponding Society ear-
 “ nestly solicits, at this time, the concurrence
 “ and assistance of the *Society of the Friends of the*
 “ *People*, in assembling, as speedily as the nature
 “ of the business will admit, a convention of the
 “ friends of freedom, for the purpose of obtaining,

“ in a legal and constitutional method, a full and
“ effectual representation.

“ Our request is not made from the impressions
“ of the moment, but after the maturest deli-
“ berations on the value and importance of the
“ object for which we are contending, and of the
“ difficulties we may expect from those whose
“ present interests render them hostile to the
“ welfare of their country.

“ The opposition of such persons is no small
“ argument for the goodness of our cause ; and
“ their late conduct, when compared with their
“ former professions, exhibits a depravity unparal-
“ leled, we trust, on the page of history.

“ Under the auspices of apostate reformers,
“ we have lately beheld serious and alarming
“ encroachments on the liberties of the people.

“ We have seen with indignation and horror
“ men *legally* and *peaceably* assembled dispersed
“ by unconstitutional powers, and their papers
“ seized.

“ We have seen some of our most virtuous
“ brethren, whose only crime has been an imita-
“ tion of Mr. PITT and his associates, sentenced
“ to fourteen years transportation, without the
“ sanction of law, or even of precedent, of which
“ number, one was held up in the British parlia-
“ ment as *convicted* and *condemned*, before he was
“ even put upon his trial.

“ The insidious attempts also to introduce
“ foreign troops into this country, without the
“ consent of Parliament, and the intended bill
“ to embody foreigners into his Majesty’s service,
“ are measures sufficiently calculated to awaken
“ our fears for the existence even of the name of
“ liberty. Nor can we overlook that part of the
“ present system of corruption which maintains,
“ out of the public plunder, a train of spies, more
“ dangerous to society than so many assassins,

“ whose avowed business is to destroy the friends
 “ of the country one by one.

“ These are grievances which demand immediate redress, and when added to those evils
 “ which are necessarily connected with every
 “ *partial* representation of the people, call for
 “ the strenuous exertions of every lover of his
 “ country.

“ But we are told, that the present is not the
 “ time for reform, and that innovation may introduce disturbance. Are those persons to
 “ judge of the proper time to make a reform,
 “ who exist only by corruption? Are the people of Britain to endure every thing without
 “ repining, without ardently seeking a radical
 “ reform, because disturbances *may* happen?—
 “ Have the enemies to reform told us whence
 “ these disturbances are to originate? Has a
 “ single overt act been committed by the friends
 “ to freedom? Have not all the riots, all the
 “ public disturbances, all the seditious assemblies,
 “ been excited by the enemies to reform? And
 “ do they mean to tell us, that they will still find
 “ other instruments for their wicked designs;
 “ that they have yet those who will act over
 “ again the outrages that have been perpetrated
 “ in some parts of Britain, and attempted in
 “ others?

“ If such is the determination of those persons *hostile* to a *fair* representation, *let them*
 “ *look to the consequences*, but let them recollect
 “ that it has happened, and may happen again,
 “ that those who kindled the flames have perished
 “ by them.

“ The friends to *reform* are friends to *peace*,
 “ their principles can be promoted only by
 “ peaceable means, they know of no other
 “ method of obtaining the object they desire.
 “ But they will not be alarmed by the threats
 “ of

“ of *venal apostates*; they will not draw back
 “ because they have seen some of their best
 “ friends doomed to exile; they will pursue the
 “ course in which they have began, and turn
 “ neither to the right nor to the left.

“ Convinced, as the London Corresponding
 “ Society is, that there is no power which *ought*,
 “ so there is no power which *can* finally with-
 “ stand the just and steady demands of a people
 “ resolved to be Free; they will, therefore, look
 “ with confidence to the *determination*, and, they
 “ hope, to the *co-operation of the* “ *Society of the*
 “ *Friends of the People,*” in the attainment of an
 “ object which involves the dearest interests of
 “ society.

“ Convinced also that their intentions are
 “ of the purest kind, they will never stoop to
 “ answer the calumnies of their enemies; but
 “ will, at all times, and in all circumstances,
 “ endeavour, by firmness and perseverance, to
 “ deserve the countenance and approbation of
 “ the best friends of their country, *the friends*
 “ *of a fair representation of the people of Great*
 “ *Britain.*

“ I am, Sir,

“ For the London Corresponding Society,
 “ April 4, 1794. THOMAS HARDY, Sec.

“ COMMITTEE ROOMS.

FRITH STREET, April 11, 1794.

“ SIR,

“ YOUR Letter of the 4th instant, addressed
 “ to Mr. SHERIDAN, Chairman of the FRIENDS
 “ OF THE PEOPLE, was laid before that
 “ SOCIETY at their Meeting on Saturday last;
 “ and they instructed their committee to thank
 “ the LONDON CORRESPONDING SO-
 “ CIETY for their communication, and to ex-
 “ press

“ press the alarm they feel in common with every
 “ friend of liberty, at the late extraordinary pro-
 “ ceedings of government, so ably detailed, and
 “ so justly reprobated by your society. They
 “ assure you, that all the friends of reform
 “ may ‘ look with confidence to the deter-
 “ mination and co-operation’ of this society
 “ in every peaceable and constitutional mea-
 “ sure, which shall appear to them calculated
 “ to promote the object of their institution;
 “ but they do not think that which is recom-
 “ mended in your letter, is likely to serve its
 “ professed purpose. They fear it will furnish
 “ the enemies of reform with the means of
 “ calumniating its advocates, and so far from
 “ forwarding the cause, will deter many from
 “ countenancing that which they approve.---
 “ For these reasons, the friends of the people
 “ must decline to send delegates to the Con-
 “ vention proposed by the London Corresponding
 “ Society :---At the same time, they renew their
 “ assurances of good will, and desire of preserv-
 “ ing a proper understanding and cordiality
 “ among all the friends of parliamentary reform,
 “ notwithstanding any difference of opinion that
 “ may occur as to the best method of accom-
 “ plishing it.

“ In Name, and by Order of the Committee,
 “ (Signed) W. BRETON, Chairman.

To Mr. T. HARDY, Secretary to the
 London Corresponding Society.

“ The following RESOLUTIONS were then passed
 “ unanimously :

“ Resolved Unanimously,

“ I. THAT this Society have beheld with
 “ rising indignation, proportioned to the enor-
 “ mity

" mity of the evil, the late rapid advances of
 " despotism in Britain; the invasion of public
 " security; the contempt of popular opinion;
 " and the violation of all those provisions of the
 " constitution intended to protect the people
 " against the encroachments of power and pre-
 " rogative.

" II. That our abhorrence and detestation
 " have been particularly called forth by the
 " late arbitrary and flagitious proceedings of
 " the Court of Justiciary in Scotland, where
 " all the doctrines and practices of the *Star*
 " *Chamber*, in the times of Charles the First,
 " have been *revived* and *aggravated*; and where
 " sentences have been pronounced in open viola-
 " tion of all law and justice, which must
 " strike deep into the heart of every man, the
 " melancholy conviction that BRITONS ARE NO
 " LONGER FREE.

" III. That the whole Proceedings of the
 " late British Convention of the People, at
 " Edinburgh, are such as claim our approba-
 " tion and applause.

" IV. That the conduct of Citizens MAR-
 " GAROT and GERRALD in particular, by its
 " strict conformity with our wishes and instruc-
 " tions, and the ability, firmness, and disin-
 " terested Patriotism which it so eminently dis-
 " played, has inspired an enthusiasm of Zeal
 " and Attachment which no time can oblite-
 " rate, and no persecution remove; and that
 " we will preserve their names engraven on
 " our hearts till we have an opportunity to redress
 " their wrongs.

" V. That any attempt to violate those yet
 " remaining Laws, which were intended for the
 " Security of Englishmen against the Tyranny
 " of Courts and Ministers, and the Corrup-
 " tion of dependent Judges, by vesting in such
 " Judges

“ Judges a legislative or arbitrary Power (such
 “ as has lately been exercised by the Court of
 “ Justiciary in Scotland) ought to be confi-
 “ dered as dissolving entirely the social com-
 “ pact between the English Nation and their
 “ Governors; and driving them to an imme-
 “ diate appeal to that incontrovertible maxim
 “ of eternal Justice, *that the Safety of the People*
 “ *is the SUPREME, and in Cases of Necessity, the*
 “ *ONLY Law.*

“ VI. That the arming and disciplining
 “ in this Country, either with or without the
 “ Consent of Parliament, any Band of *Emi-*
 “ *grants and Foreigners, driven from their own*
 “ *country for their known Attachment to an INFA-*
 “ *MOUS DESPOTISM,* is an outrageous attempt
 “ to *overawe and intimidate* the free Spirit of
 “ Britons; to subjugate them to an Army of
 “ *mercenary Cut-throats, whose views and in-*
 “ *terest must of necessity be in direct opposition*
 “ to those of the Nation, and that *no pretence*
 “ *whatever* OUGHT to induce the people to sub-
 “ mit to so *unconstitutional* a Measure.

“ VII. That the unconstitutional project of
 “ raising money and troops by forced bene-
 “ volences (and no benevolences collected
 “ upon requisition from the King or his Mini-
 “ sters can ever in reality be voluntary) and
 “ the equally unjustifiable Measure of arming
 “ one part of the People against the other,
 “ brought Charles the First to the block, and
 “ drove James the Second and his posterity
 “ from the Throne; and that consequently
 “ Ministers in advising such Measures, ought
 “ to consider whether they are not guilty of
 “ High Treason.

“ VIII. That this Society have beheld with
 “ considerable pleasure the *consistent respect* which
 “ the House of Lords displayed for their own
 “ Confi-

“ Constitutional Rules and Orders, on the
 “ fourth of the present month, upon the mo-
 “ tion of Earl Stanhope, concerning the inter-
 “ ference of Ministers in the Internal Govern-
 “ ment of France; and that it is the firm
 “ conviction of this Society, that this Circum-
 “ stance, when properly detailed, will have a
 “ considerable effect in convincing the country
 “ at large, of the true dignity and utility of
 “ that branch of HIS MAJESTY’s PAR-
 “ LIAMENT.

“ IX. That the Thanks of this Meeting be
 “ given to EARL STANHOPE, for his manly and
 “ patriotic conduct during the present Session
 “ of Parliament; a conduct which (unsupport-
 “ ed as it has been in the Senate, of which HE
 “ is so truly honourable a Member) has, to-
 “ gether with the timely interference of cer-
 “ tain spirited and patriotic Associations, been
 “ nevertheless already productive of the salu-
 “ tary effect of chasing the Hessian and Hano-
 “ verian Mercenaries from our Coasts; who,
 “ but for these exertions, might have been
 “ marched perhaps, ere this, into the very
 “ heart of the Country, together with others of
 “ their Countrymen, to have peopled the
 “ BARRACKS, which every where insult the
 “ Eyes of Britons.

“ X. That it is the firm Conviction of this
 “ Society, that a steady Perseverance in the
 “ same bold and energetic sentiments which
 “ have lately been avowed by the Friends of
 “ Freedom cannot fail of crowning with ulti-
 “ mate Triumph, the virtuous Cause in which
 “ we are engaged, since whatever may be the
 “ interested Opinion of *Hereditary* Senators, or
 “ *packed* Majorities of *pretended* Representa-
 “ tives, Truth and Liberty, in an age so en-
 “ lightened

“lightened as the present, must be Invincible
“and Omnipotent.”

“*This Society having already addressed M.*
“*Margarot, their Delegate, an ADDRESS*
“*to JOSEPH GERRALD was read as fol-*
“*lows, and carried unanimously.*”

“*To JOSEPH GERRALD, a prisoner*
“*sentenced by the High Court of Jus-*
“*ticiary of Scotland, to Transporta-*
“*tion beyond the Seas for FOUR-*
“*TEEN YEARS!*”

“WE behold in you, our beloved and re-
“spected friend and fellow-citizen, a Mar-
“tyr to the Glorious Cause of Equal Repre-
“sentation, and we cannot permit you to leave
“this degraded country without expressing the
“infinite obligations the people at large, and
“we in particular, owe to you for your very
“spirited exertions in that cause upon every
“occasion; but upon none more conspicu-
“ously, than during the sitting of the BRI-
“TISH CONVENTION of the PEOPLE at Edin-
“burgh, and the consequent *proceeding* (we
“*will not call it trial*) at the bar of the Court
“of Justiciary.

“We know not which most deserves our
“admiration, the splendid talents with which
“you are so eminently distinguished; the ex-
“alted virtues by which they have been direct-
“ed; the perseverance and undaunted firm-
“ness which you so nobly displayed in resisting
“the wrongs of your insulted and oppressed
“country; or your present manly and philo-
“sophical suffering under an *arbitrary*, and till
“of

“ of late *unprecedented* sentence : a sentence,
 “ one of the most vindictive and cruel that has
 “ been pronounced since the days of that *most*
 “ *infamous* and *ever to-be detested* Court of Star
 “ Chamber, the enormous tyranny of which
 “ cost the first Charles his head.

“ To you and to your associates we feel our-
 “ selves most deeply indebted. For us it is that
 “ you are suffering the sentence of transpor-
 “ tation with Felons, the vilest outcasts of So-
 “ ciety ! For us it is that you are doomed to the
 “ inhospitable shores of New Holland ; where,
 “ however, we doubt not you will experience
 “ considerable alleviation by the remembrance
 “ of that VIRTUOUS CONDUCT for which it is
 “ imposed on you, and by the sincere regard
 “ and esteem of your Fellow Citizens.

“ The Equal Laws of this Country have,
 “ for ages past, been the boast of its inhabitants:
 “ But whither are they now fled ? We are ani-
 “ mated by the same sentiments, are daily re-
 “ peating the same words, and committing the
 “ same actions for which you are thus infa-
 “ mously sentenced ; and we will repeat and
 “ commit them until we have obtained redress ;
 “ yet we are unpunished ! either therefore the
 “ law is Unjust towards you in inflicting *Pu-*
 “ *nishment* on the Exertions of *Virtue and Talents*,
 “ or it *ought* not to deprive us of *our share* in
 “ the GLORY of the *Martyrdom*.

“ We again, therefore, pledge ourselves to you
 “ and to our country, never to cease demand-
 “ ing our Rights from those who have usurped
 “ them, until having obtained an Equal Repre-
 “ sentation of the People, we shall be enabled to
 “ hail you once more with Triumph to your
 “ native country.—We wish you health and
 “ happiness ; and be assured we never, never
 “ shall

“ shall forget *your Name, your Virtues*, nor YOUR
“ GREAT EXAMPLE.

“ The London Corresponding Society.

“ JOHN LOVETT, Chairman.

“ THOMAS HARDY, Secretary.

“ The 14th of April, 1794.”

“ *It was also unanimously resolved,*

“ That the Committee of Correspondence be
“ directed to convey the approbation of this So-
“ ciety---I. To Archibald Hamilton Rowan,
“ prisoner in the Newgate of the city of Dublin,
“ for his unshaken attachment to the people,
“ and for his spirited assertion of their rights.

“ II. To John Philpot Curran for his admira-
“ ble and energetic defence of A. H. Rowan, and
“ the principles of Liberty, as well as for his
“ patriotic conduct in Parliament.

“ III. To the Society of United Irishmen in
“ Dublin, and to exhort them to persevere in
“ their exertions to obtain justice for the people
“ of Ireland.

“ IV. To Skirving, Palmer and Muir, suffer-
“ ing the same iniquitous sentences, and in the
“ same cause with our Delegates.

“ V. To John Clark, and Alexander Reid, for
“ their so readily and disinterestedly giving bail
“ for our Delegates, instigated thereto solely by
“ their attachment to Liberty, uninfluenced by
“ any personal consideration.

“ VI. To Adam Gillics, Malcolm Laing, and
“ James Gibson, for their able assistance given
“ to Joseph Gerrald, at the bar of the High
“ Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh.

“ VII. To felicitate Thomas Walker, of Man-
“ chester, and the people at large, on the event
“ of his, as well as several other late trials, and
“ on

“ on the developement of the infamy of a system
“ of Spies and Informers.

“ VIII. To Sir Joseph Mawbey, for his manly
“ conduct at the late surreptitious Meeting held
“ at Epsom in Surrey.

“ It was also unanimously Resolved,
“ That two hundred thousand copies of the
“ Proceedings and Resolutions of this Meeting
“ be printed and published.

“ J. LOVETT, Chairman.

“ T. HARDY, Secretary.

“ Resolved,

“ That the thanks of this Meeting be given to
“ the Chairman, for his manly and impartial
“ conduct this day.

“ T. HARDY, Secretary.”

From a Review of these Transactions your Committee feel it impossible not to conclude, that the measures which have been stated are directed to the object of assembling a Meeting which, under the Name of a General Convention, may take upon itself the Character of a General Representative of the People. However at different periods the term of Parliamentary Reform may have been employed, it is obvious that the present View of these Societies is not intended to be prosecuted by any application to Parliament, but, on the contrary, by an open attempt to supersede the House of Commons in its Representative Capacity, and to assume to itself all the functions and powers of a National Legislature.

This Object, as what is really intended to be attained by assembling a Convention, appears expressly and pointedly stated, even as early as the 15th of April 1793, in the Letter to the United Societies at Norwich, already referred to; and the same Letter sufficiently explains the Policy in consequence of which, subsequent to that Period, the Topic of Parliamentary

liamentary Reform has been still ostensibly brought forward in some of the Communications which have been made public. As a further illustration of this observation, your Committee think it not immaterial to remark, that in a Letter from Margat, at Edinburgh, to the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information, in December 1793, it is particularly recommended to him not to introduce Politics in his Letter, or at *least* nothing but what *concerns Reform*. Whatever Disguise, however, may have been employed in an earlier period, seems in the later Proceedings to have been wholly relinquished. The Object is still stated to be a fair and equal Representation of the People; but a General Convention of the people, to be chosen by the Delegates of the different Societies, is proposed for the purpose of obtaining this end. No mention is made of any application to Parliament, or of any amendment of the Representation in *Parliament*.

The Circular Letter, inserted in a former part of this Report, recommends forming another British Convention, to be held in a Central Situation most convenient for the whole Island; and states the appointment of a Secret Committee for that purpose.

The Third Resolution passed by the Corresponding Society on the 27th of March, and communicated to the Society for Constitutional Information, which was the foundation of the subsequent joint Proceedings of the Two Societies, states the object of the Convention to be for the purpose "of securing themselves from future illegal and scandalous prosecutions, to prevent a repetition of wicked and unjust Sentences, and to recall those wise and wholesome Laws which have been wrested from them." Terms which appear to your Committee to be material, not so much on account of their general inflammatory Tendency, as because they evidently point at obtaining a Redress of supposed grievances, not by application to Parliament,

ment, but by Acts of Authority to be exercised by themselves.

The Resolutions afterwards passed on the 14th of April, contain open attacks on all the branches of the Legislature, and a direct invitation to the People to resist Measures then in the Contemplation of the Legislature; and expressly stating that they ought equally to be resisted, whether adopted with or without the Consent of Parliament.

When, in addition to these considerations, the Committee reflect on the leading Circumstances which they have already stated, of the declared approbation, at an early Period, of the Doctrine of the *Rights of Man*, as stated in Paine's Publications; of the connection and intercourse with French Societies, and with the National Convention; and, of the subsequent approbation of the French system; and consider that these are the principles which the promoters of a Convention evidently make the foundation of all their Proceedings; they are satisfied that the design now openly professed and acted upon, aims at nothing less than what is stated in his Majesty's Message, and must be considered as a Traitorous Conspiracy for the Subversion of the established Laws and Constitution, and the introduction of that system of Anarchy and Confusion which has fatally prevailed in France.

There still remains two points connected with what has been already stated, which your Committee have not yet had the opportunity of investigating as fully as they wish, but which appear too important to be wholly passed over.

It appears to your Committee, that in some of the Societies referred to Proposals have been received, and that Measures have recently been taken for providing Arms to be distributed among the Members of the Societies.

It also appears, from such information as your Committee have hitherto had the opportunity of receiving, that since the apprehension of the persons in whose custody

custody the papers were found which have been referred to your Committee, there have been several meetings of the Societies in different parts of the Metropolis; that the designs which were before entertained have been by no means abandoned; and that, on the contrary, there have been some indications of a disposition to concert means for forcibly resisting such measures as may be taken for defeating their accomplishment, or for bringing the authors and abettors of them to justice.

FINIS.

THE
SECOND REPORT

FROM THE
COMMITTEE OF SECRECY

OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS,

To whom the several Papers referred to in His Majesty's
Message of the 12th Day of May 1794, and which were
presented (sealed up) to the House, by Mr. Secretary
Dundas, upon the 12th and 13th Days of the said
Month, by his Majesty's command, were referred :

WITH AN
APPENDIX;

AND A
SUPPLEMENT AND AN APPENDIX :

TO WHICH ARE ADDED
THE FIRST AND SECOND REPORTS

OF THE
SECRET COMMITTEE

OF THE
HOUSE OF LORDS;

WITH AN APPENDIX.

FOURTH EDITION.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR J. DEBRET, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-
HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

1794.

THE
SECOND REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRET

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

To whom the several Reports referred to in His Majesty's
Message of the 22nd Day of May 1794, and which were
presented (brought up) to the House, by Mr. Secretary
Pitt, upon the 12th and 13th Days of the said
Month, by His Majesty's command, were referred:

WITH AN

APPENDIX;

AND A

SUPPLEMENT AND AN APPENDIX:

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

THE FIRST AND SECOND REPORTS

OF THE

SECRET COMMITTEE

OF THE

HOUSE OF LORDS:

WITH AN APPENDIX.

FOURTH EDITION.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR J. HARRIST, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-
HOUSE, TOWER-CHURCH.

SECOND REPORT.

THE COMMITTEE to whom the several Papers referred to in his Majesty's Message of the 12th Day of May, 1794, and which were presented (sealed up) to the House, by Mr. Secretary Dundas, upon the 12th and 13th Days of the said Month, by his Majesty's Command, were referred; and who were directed to examine the Matters thereof, and report the same, as they should appear to them; to the House,

HAVE further proceeded in the examination of the books and papers referred to them by the House, and of such other information as they have since obtained.

The latter has consisted of a variety of examinations and depositions taken before the Privy Council, of papers found in the custody of different persons who have been apprehended, and of accounts received by the Secretary of State relative to discoveries made at Edinburgh, and in different parts of Scotland; all which have been laid before your Committee.

The result appears to your Committee strongly to confirm all the propositions which they found it their duty, on the outset of their inquiry, to submit to the House, and to leave no doubt of the nature, extent, and malignity, of the extravagant designs which have been formed, of the regularity and system with which these designs have been pursued, or of the rapid progress of the measures which had been taken in order to attempt to carry them speedily into execution.

Before the Committee submit to the House such further details as appear necessary to give a general and comprehensive view of the subject, and to shew the origin and progress of the plan which has been in agitation, they think it right to call the attention of the House to some transactions of a recent date, and which appear to be of so much importance as to deserve a separate statement.

The first of these has already been shortly referred to in the former Report, and relates to the measures taken for providing arms to be distributed among the members of the several societies, and for preparing the means of employing actual force in the execution of their project.

The circumstance which first came under the observation of your Committee, containing a distinct trace of measures of this description, was a letter from a person at Sheffield, by profession a printer, (who has since absconded) which was thus addressed—"Citizen Hardy, Secretary of the London Corresponding Society," and which was found in the possession of Hardy on the 12th day of May last, when he was taken into custody.

The letter is as follows:

"Fellow Citizens, "Sheffield, April 24, 1794.

"The barefaced aristocracy of the present Administration has made it necessary that we should be prepared to
 "act on the defensive against any attack they may com-
 "mand their newly-armed minions to make upon us. A
 "plan has been hit upon; and if encouraged sufficiently
 "will, no doubt, have the effect of furnishing a quantity
 "of pikes to the patriots; great enough to make them
 "formidable. The blades are made of steel, tempered
 "and polished after an improved form. They may be
 "fixed into any shafts; but fir ones are recommended, of
 "the girth of the accompanying hoops at the top end,
 "and about an inch more at the bottom. The blades and
 "hoops, more than which cannot be properly sent to any
 "great distance, will be charged one shilling. Money to
 "be sent with the order. As the institution is in its in-
 "fancy, immediate encouragement is necessary.

Struck through in the original. } "Orders may be sent to the Secretary of
 } "the Sheffield Constitutional Society.

"Signed.

“ To prevent post suspicion, direct to” [Here follows, in the original, the name of the person to whom the letters were to be addressed, and his residence at Sheffield.]

This letter contained another inclosed, directed to the Secretary of the Norwich Patriotic Societies, which was found in the possession of the Secretary to the London Corresponding Society; and which is as follows:

“ Fellow Citizen,

“ The barefaced aristocracy of the present administration has made it necessary to prepare to act upon the defensive; in case of any attack upon the patriots.

“ A plan has been formed for carrying into effect this necessary business. Pike blades are made with hoops for the shafts to fit the top ends; the bottom end of the shafts should be about an inch thicker; and *fir* is recommended for the shafts, selected by persons who are judges of wood. The blades and hoops will be sold at the rate of one shilling, properly tempered and polished. The money sent with the orders.

“ Signed.

“ Direct to” [Here follows, in the original, the name of the person to whom the letters were to be addressed, and his residence at Sheffield] “ to prevent the postmaster’s suspicion.”

Your Committee soon after found, that by the different examinations taken before the Privy Council it was fully established, that the general idea of procuring arms (either musquets or pikes) to be distributed among the members, had of late been frequently the subject of conversation at different divisions among the leading members of the Corresponding Society, and among persons who have been most active in the measures lately taken; that although these conversations had frequently taken place, they had generally been after the business of the meetings was closed, and when only a few persons remained. It appears indeed to have been, in a great measure, agreed, that this plan was not to be publicly mentioned at the divisions; particularly it was recommended by one of the most active persons not to mention it till the new plan of constitution for the Society was settled. And it has appeared (in the course of this investigation) that the arming business was all done by private members, and that it was held not fit to talk of the pikes but

to those who were to be trusted ; that the general business was done by a committee of delegates, but there was a secret committee of five persons, who transacted what was not to be entrusted to the whole of the Corresponding Society ; that they meet at private houses, and that all the correspondence comes to them, and what they think proper is laid before the Society. But although this plan of precaution and concealment must have prevented the discovery of a great part of this system, instances have occurred of proceedings at some of the divisions of the Corresponding Society, relative to procuring arms, which your Committee have been enabled to ascertain. As early as November, 1793, at a meeting of a division of the Society, held at a place named to the Committee, a violent speech was made by a member of the Society, recommending that arms should be procured, and mentioning that they were provided with arms and pikes at Sheffield ; and another member said it would be good to provide pikes at six-pence each : afterwards, in the month of February last, at a meeting of one of the divisions of the Corresponding Society named to the Committee, and at a place ascertained to them, it was proposed to issue new books, with the names and places of abode of the several members, and that the names of those who lived in the same neighbourhood should be placed together, that they might easily be assembled upon any emergency, in case Government should attempt to disperse their meetings ; and a resolution for this purpose was passed soon after at a subsequent meeting.

At the same meeting a member of another division attended, and stated to the chairman, that he came to make a report from his division.—He stated a rumour, that the Habeas Corpus Act would be soon suspended.—This intelligence he was deputed to give, that the Society at large might be prepared for the event : upon this a speech was made by a person, who was a member of the committee mentioned in the former Report, in which he recommended to each member to provide himself with arms and ammunition, in order to defend himself against any persons who might attack him, whether they should be of this country, Prussians, Hessians, or Hanoverians. And in the beginning of April last, at the same division, it appears that a report was made from the general committee, that an answer had been received from the Society for Constitutional Information, expressive of their desire to co-operate with them in obtaining their great end ; and desiring a deputation might be sent to consult and deliberate with them. In consequence a certain number of the committee were appointed : and on this occasion one

one of the members recommended to the citizens not to sit tamely silent and inactive, but to rouse themselves, and, not only with words, but arms, assert their rights—he said, they were on the eve of a general meeting, and they should go with their minds prepared to adopt a system which might be reduced to speedy practice, and rescue their fellow citizens (meaning the Scotch delegates) from their degrading situation. It also appears to your Committee, that a plan was in contemplation to subdivide each division into tythings, and to appoint tything men to each, for the purpose “ of rendering themselves useful “ in case of emergency ;” which was explained to mean, that in case the society should be interrupted by peace officers, or a press gang, they should resist any such interruption. As another instance of the measures taken to instigate the people to arm, an account was given of a hand bill produced at one of the meetings, which was to the following effect :

“ The Ins tell us we are danger of invasion from the
“ French.

“ The Outs tell us that we are in danger from the Hef-
“ sians and Hanoverians.

“ In either case we should arm ourselves.—Get arms,
“ and learn how to use them.”

Several copies of this hand bill were proved to have been publicly produced at a meeting of one of the divisions, by a person who said he had printed them for the purpose of distributing as many as possible.

In the progress of the inquiry, information was received from a witness, whose accuracy has since been confirmed in a variety of striking instances, that a person named in the information, an active promoter of these measures, and a delegate of one of the divisions, had shewn the witness a pike in his possession, of which a minute description was given. The witness stated this person to have given an account of the use to which these pikes might be applied ; that it was supposed no regiment of horse could stand against them ; that such pikes were manufacturing at Sheffield ; and that he had received from the Secretary of the Corresponding Society the direction of the person from whom he might procure them ; that the price was to be one shilling a-piece, and if they cost more, the overplus would be paid by a person at Sheffield, who would be indemnified by the Society. The witness also stated the same person to have given an account of a meeting intended to be held at a public

public house (which was named) on a day specified, for the purpose of fixing the number of pikes to be sent for. The person stated to have held this conversation, and another person said to have been present at it (who was also one of the most active members of the London Corresponding Society) were soon after apprehended, and a pike exactly answering to the description given by the witness was found upon each of them. In the subsequent investigation of the business, your Committee have received strong confirmation of the principal circumstances of the conversation stated by the witness, respecting the use to which the pikes might be applied, the direction given by the Secretary of the *Corresponding Society* in order to procure them from Sheffield, the price to be paid for them, and the intended meeting for the purpose of fixing the number to be sent for, and of depositing one shilling a-piece for the purchase. One of the persons so apprehended, in explaining the use to be made of the pikes from Sheffield, said, the persuasion was, and he himself believed, the Government were conspiring against the people, and therefore should be resisted. Another witness has since stated, that he had understood from one of the persons apprehended, that his pike was to be used (in case the people were to rise) for the particular purpose of keeping off the cavalry.

- Your Committee, in the course of this examination, observed, that an account was given of some supposed meeting of military divisions, connected with the *Corresponding Society*, for the purpose of learning their exercise with muskets; and it was stated, that with a view to instructing them, there had been printed and sold a copper plate engraving of the manual exercise, accompanied with a book of directions on the subject. This engraving was afterwards produced, and it was proved to have been bespoke by one person, and engraved by another, whose names were mentioned, both of whom were members of the *London Corresponding Society*, and one of them a secretary to one of the divisions, and to have been sold by another member of the Society to several members at a meeting of one of the divisions. A more particular account was afterwards given of a body formed for the purpose of exercising with fire-arms, which had taken the name of *The Loyal Lambeth Association*, but which had held no communication with Government, nor received any authority for that purpose. It appears, that although this armed Society bore the name of *The Loyal Lambeth Association*, none of the members belonging to it were of the parish of Lambeth,

Lambeth, excepting the original proposer of the Association, who was a member of the London Corresponding Society. The admission of persons who were afterwards members of the association was objected to at first, because they did not belong to the London Corresponding Society; but on promise that they would become members of the London Corresponding Society, they were admitted into this armed Association. A gun engraver, who is also a member of the London Corresponding Society, and who furnished this Association with muskets, was first introduced to the person who set on foot the Association, by the secretary of the Corresponding Society. This Association was regularly trained and exercised in the use of fire-arms twice a week. It has been given in evidence, that this Association removed from the house of a tradesman in the Borough, where they used to exercise, because they made so much noise with the arms, that the workmen must know what they were about, the tradesman having different workmen, who might not be all of the same principle. Upon this suggestion, a committee was appointed to choose proper places for exercise, where the Association might not be liable to be interrupted by the officers of police; and two places named to your Committee were appointed accordingly, to which the Association adjourned in two separate divisions. At one of these places they exercised in a room on the second floor, and with the window curtains drawn, and on some occasions, at another place, by candle light, from eight to ten o'clock at night, with the shutters barred up. At the place where the Lambeth Association met, there was a printed ticket of admission with the following inscription engraved on it, "*Liberty to those who dare defend it.*" The object of all the persons who attended the Association (as was collected from their conversation) was universal suffrage and annual election. If they could not obtain a reform in Parliament in any other way, they meant to have recourse to arms. The Committee have traced eighteen stand of arms actually purchased by this Association. This number, purchased by persons apparently in very indigent circumstances, is a sufficient proof of their earnestness in the design in which they had engaged. But it further appears, that the same person who supplied this number had engaged to furnish arms, as the numbers who desired to have them increased; and that sixty muskets had been mentioned as likely to be wanted for this Association.—It also appears to your Committee, that other institutions of the same nature existed, and that subscriptions had been opened for the purpose of providing muskets. In addition

addition to the means already enumerated for gradually providing pikes and musquets, it has appeared in evidence, that one of the schemes in agitation was to seize the arms in the shops of the gunsmiths in London, and to distribute the arms so seized among the members of the London Corresponding Society.

These proceedings in London, sufficiently important in themselves, become still more deserving of serious consideration, when combined with measures of a similar description taken at Sheffield; and in several parts of Scotland, and which not only coincide in point of time, but bear the strongest marks of deliberate concert and connection with the attempts in London, to which your Committee have already directed the attention of the House. Your Committee have already inserted in this Report a letter from a person at Sheffield, found in the possession of the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society, and inclosing a direction to another person at Sheffield, who was to forward to the maker of the pikes all such orders as he might receive from London for that purpose.

It has appeared, from the concurrent testimony of several persons examined before the Privy Council, that this direction was actually given by the Secretary of the Corresponding Society to one of its members, that many persons were desirous of procuring pikes; and that subscriptions had been already entered into with the view of procuring them from Sheffield. One of the other persons apprehended at Sheffield, who had been Secretary to the Constitutional Society there, and upon whom a pike was found, acknowledged that he had seen the letter to the Secretary of the Corresponding Society in London, containing the inclosure for Norwich; and that the writer told him, he had inclosed the letter for Norwich in the other for fear of suspicion: The same person also said, he could not doubt in the least that the pikes were to be furnished in London, according to the contents of the letter which had been explained to him at Sheffield. It appears, that some time in March last, a person calling himself Yorke, a member of the Constitutional Society at London, and who was chosen by them as one of their delegates to the Convention at Edinburgh, recommended it to the people of Sheffield to take arms, representing it as a matter of right, founded on the Bill of Rights, and observing that the opposite party was arming, and therefore that the other party should be armed also; that Yorke used these recommendations both in private and

and public; told them in conversation, just after the meeting at Sheffield, where he had been chairman, that pikes were used in France; and recommended to the people to get arms, according to an advertisement published at Sheffield, saying; that it was legal and constitutional; and that they ought to get pikes as in France. This measure of arming was approved of by the greater part of the Society at Sheffield, which appears from information before your Committee to be very numerous, and to have been subdivided into forty-five or fifty small bodies, or different clubs. In consequence of these recommendations, pikes were made at Sheffield under Yorke's orders, and the form and size were regulated by his particular direction—Your Committee think it of importance to call the attention of the House to this circumstance, as they shall have occasion to advert more particularly, in a subsequent part of this Report, to the principles and views publicly avowed by Yorke at a meeting held at Sheffield on the 7th of April last. Four persons are stated to have been employed in the manufacture of these pikes, and one of these persons to have worked at them for some weeks past; and it appears that several have been already made and sold to different persons, at the price of 20d. a-piece: the pike taken upon one of the persons apprehended at Sheffield answers precisely to the description given in the letter before inserted. In addition to this account of the measures taken for providing pikes, it must be observed, that the three persons apprehended at Sheffield concur in declaring, that they had seen there a pattern of an instrument which has, on different occasions, been used in military operations for impeding the approach of cavalry; and which was stated by the witnesses to be intended to be laid in the road at night for that purpose—One of them said, that he had no doubt that this instrument was formed with the same intention as the pikes, to defend the meeting at Sheffield against the military. It was also stated, that about the time when these arms were prepared, they had resolved at Sheffield, (as will appear more particularly in the sequel of the Report) that no further petition should be made to Parliament on the subject of reform, although they intended to go on in their demands; and one of the persons examined said, If any meetings were to be held at Sheffield for the purpose of obtaining universal suffrage, and any attempt made to disturb such meeting, he thought the people would be justified in resistance.

While your Committee were employed in investigating the origin and progress of the plan for arming the people in London and at Sheffield, they received intelligence of the existence of similar designs in Scotland, which appear to have been in a much greater degree of forwardness, and to have been conducted with such secrecy, that they might have produced the most serious consequences, if accident had not led to a timely discovery of their nature and extent before they had been carried into execution. This intelligence was communicated to your Committee in several letters from Mr. Secretary Dundas, which contain so full a narrative of the circumstances leading to the discovery of this design, of the scope and nature of the design itself, of the principles with which it was connected, and of the means by which it was to have been accomplished, that your Committee have thought they could not lay this important matter before the House in a more satisfactory manner than by inserting the letters at large in this place—It is however to be observed, that besides what relates immediately to this particular head, these letters contain matters applying to other important branches of the subject of this Report; and to which it will be necessary hereafter to refer; and that many of the important circumstances detailed in Mr. Dundas's letters have been also communicated to your Committee through other channels.

Whitehall, 19th May, 1794.

“ S I R,

“ I have received this morning, from the Sheriff Depute of the County of Edinburgh, authentic information of an accidental discovery made on the 15th and 16th ult. the general report of which I feel it proper to state to you, as it seems materially connected with the inquiry in which the Secret Committee of the House of Commons is now engaged.

“ The creditors of a bankrupt having received information that part of his goods had been embezzled, and were secreted in the house of an individual, the usual warrant was issued, authorizing a search to be made in the suspected place; and in carrying it into execution, on the afternoon of the 15th, the officers discovered in a private place, where they appear to have been concealed, twelve pike or spear heads. The proprietor of the house, who happened to be from home at the time, was soon thereafter taken into custody,

“ to-day,

to-day, and on being carried before the proper magistrate for examination, refused to give any account of these weapons, to whom they belonged, or for what purposes they were intended. On a more narrow search there was likewise discovered, in a private and concealed part of the house, two other pike or spear heads, similar to the others, two battle-axes, and a shaft or pole, with a screw on the end, fitted for receiving either the spear head or battle-axe.

Immediate inquiry being made after the persons with whom this individual had lately been seen in company, and two blacksmiths being mentioned among them, their houses and shops were immediately searched; one of the two was also taken into custody; the other escaped and absconded.—In the shop of the first of these men were found four pike or spear heads, finished, fitted with screws and sockets, and ready to be fixed on shafts; eight battle-axes, also fitted and finished; and twenty blades more not quite finished, but nearly so.

In the shop and dwelling house of the other, who had absconded, no such weapons were found; but the apprentices, on being examined before a magistrate, acknowledged, that the pike or spear heads first discovered had been privately manufactured in their master's shop during the course of this fortnight past, and carried privately to his house as soon as completed.

The battle-axes and blades appear also to have been manufactured within this fortnight past; and were intended, as the maker of them said, for the purpose of arming the people, should an invasion take place.—But it appears, that to his apprentices, whom he had employed in assisting him to make them, he pretended they were meant for a gate; an account obviously false, as he could not point out any gate for which these weapons were intended, nor name any person who had ordered him to frame a gate of so particular a construction.

These circumstances have induced the magistrates to commit all the persons concerned for examination; and the result of the inquiries which are at present carrying forward, I expect will be regularly communicated to me—It is proper also to inform you, that all the persons chiefly concerned appear to have been members of the British Convention which met at Edin-

" burgh last winter; and since the dispersion of it have
 " continued the most active and leading persons in the
 " societies whose delegates composed the principal part
 " of that meeting, who appear at present taking measures
 " for calling another convention of the same nature,
 " which they expected is to take place soon in England;
 " and some of whom have acknowledged, that the pro-
 " priety of the individuals composing these societies arm-
 " ing themselves with spears and pikes, has, within these
 " few weeks past, been the subject of conversation amongst
 " them, and steps taken for carrying that purpose into
 " execution with caution and secrecy.

" The silence of one of the persons, the inconsistent
 " and contradictory account of the other, and the flight
 " of the third, throw a very strong suspicion on the pur-
 " poses and intentions of the parties concerned in this
 " transaction. The sheriff is, in the course of his duty,
 " proceeding to investigate the matter more accurately;
 " but I consider it necessary and proper to communicate
 " through you to the Committee information so intimately
 " connected with the object of its inquiries, however im-
 " perfect that information still is, but which I have no
 " doubt will soon be completed.

" I am,

" SIR,

" Your most obedient,

" humble servant,

" HENRY DUNDAS.

" Right Honble. Mr. Pitt."

" SIR,

" Whitehall, 23d May, 1794.

" I have received this morning farther accounts from
 " the sheriff depute of Edinburgh, of the transactions
 " stated in my last letter; and the result of the inquiries
 " since made by that magistrate, and which are still going
 " forward, appear to me of such a nature as to deserve
 " the particular attention of the Secret Committee.

" One of the individuals mentioned in my former let-
 " ter has since made a disclosure, and a person since
 " taken into custody, and who appears to have been privy
 " to the whole transaction, has confessed, that these
 " weapons were the first of a very large number and quan-
 " tity, actually ordered to be made, and intended to be

" privately

“ privately dispersed among the members of the various
 “ societies throughout Scotland, styling themselves the
 “ Friends of the People, and who appear to be at present
 “ employed in taking measures for calling together an-
 “ other British Convention of Delegates to be held in
 “ England. An order has been given from one town
 “ alone in Scotland, for a large quantity of weapons of
 “ the nature described; no less a number than 4,000
 “ has been mentioned, and more are intended to be dis-
 “ tributed in Edinburgh. Emisaries appear also to have
 “ been dispatched, within this fortnight or three weeks
 “ past, to the manufacturing towns in the west of Scot-
 “ land, for the purpose of sounding the inclinations of
 “ such of the inhabitants there who are known to be
 “ members of these Societies; and there is reason to
 “ believe, from information received from various diffe-
 “ rent quarters, that these persons have by no means been
 “ unsuccessful.

“ Paisley is in particular alluded to as being in a state
 “ of great readiness; and there has been positive infor-
 “ mation received through other channels, that within
 “ these three weeks, persons of that description have as-
 “ sembled themselves to a very considerable number in
 “ the night-time, for the purpose of practising the use of
 “ arms. The particulars of this information, and the
 “ extent to which these meetings have proceeded, are at
 “ present matter of inquiry with the proper magistrates of
 “ the place; but the result has not yet been received.

“ The formation of this plan is now traced home to
 “ certain persons, some of whom are in custody, who ap-
 “ pear to be entrusted by these Societies in Scotland with
 “ the most unlimited powers in directing their future
 “ proceedings—carrying on their correspondence—and
 “ who act as a Committee of Secrecy, consisting of a
 “ certain number of persons, the principal and most
 “ active members of the British Convention. The
 “ choosing of delegates to the expected Convention in
 “ England, the place of whose meeting is not yet di-
 “ vulged, and the raising of contributions among the
 “ various Societies throughout Scotland for defraying
 “ the charges of such delegates, appear to be the material
 “ part of their present employment, and in which it
 “ would seem they have made some progress. And it
 “ is the same committee who have, for some weeks
 “ past,

“ past, been consulting and taking measures for arming
 “ themselves and the members of the various clubs with
 “ pikes and battle-axes, and who have employed the per-
 “ sons above-mentioned in manufacturing them. The
 “ scheme appears to have been first proposed and agreed
 “ upon about a month ago; to have been since carried
 “ on with the utmost secrecy and caution; and the wea-
 “ pons, so far as has yet been discovered, manufactured
 “ by such persons, in such small quantities, in such cir-
 “ cumstances, and under such pretences, as not to render
 “ the progress of the work probably liable to suspicion
 “ or detection; and it was brought to light by the very
 “ accidental and singular incident which I mentioned in
 “ my former letter.

“ I have the satisfaction of observing, that the magis-
 “ trates and officers of the law in Scotland have been,
 “ and still continue active in the searches and inquiries
 “ making at the different suspected places within their
 “ respective jurisdictions.---In Perth and Dundee nothing
 “ has been discovered which can lead me to believe that
 “ measures have been taken in either of these places for
 “ making arms, the manufacture of which seems to have
 “ been confined to Edinburgh, and intended to have been
 “ gradually dispersed from thence to such places as re-
 “ quired them.---No such weapons have been discovered
 “ at Paisley or in its neighbourhood, though the intention
 “ of arming, and holding regular nightly meetings are
 “ perfectly ascertained.

“ Information has also been communicated, of the
 “ authenticity of which there is no great room to doubt,
 “ that a conspiracy has been formed, as soon as a pro-
 “ per number of these weapons were distributed among
 “ the Friends of the People at Edinburgh, to seize in
 “ the night the persons of the principal magistrates and
 “ officers of the law; the banks, the public offices,
 “ guards, and prison; and after enticing the soldiery
 “ from the castle, by kindling a fire in the middle of the
 “ city, to intercept them on their return, by means of
 “ different armed parties to be properly stationed for that
 “ purpose.

“ It appears likewise, from indisputable facts, that the
 “ most secret and artful means have been, and are still
 “ using with the fancible regiments in Scotland to excite
 “ them to disobedience and mutiny.—*The printed paper
 “ which

“ which I herewith transmit has been industriously circulated for that purpose.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ SIR,

“ Your most obedient

“ humble servant,

“ HENRY DUNDAS.

“ Right Honble. Mr. Pitt.”

“ SIR,

“ Whitehall, 24th May, 1794.

“ I have received no farther accounts of the result of the inquiries going on in Edinburgh; but I am sorry to state, that I have received information from the sheriff of the county of Renfrew, confirmed by letters received from other respectable persons in Paisley, that the magistrates of that place having, in the course of their inquiries, committed, on the afternoon of the 19th, a man to custody for further examination, a considerable number of persons (several hundreds) assembled in the evening, and after choosing a president, whom they addressed by the title of Citizen President, voted a number of resolutions to the following purpose—That a National Convention should be immediately called, to which they would send delegates—That they should not petition Parliament, as it was to themselves alone, and to such a Convention they could look for redress. They then proceeded to consider the conduct of the sheriff and magistrates in committing their brother citizen, as he was termed; and, after much discussion as to the propriety of immediately releasing him by force, the majority seemed inclined to take mild measures first, and to send a deputation to ask his release. But the magistrates having received information of what was intended, and dismissed the man from custody, the mob dispersed with three cheers, having been previously instructed by their president to abstain from further tumult, and to observe a peaceable and orderly conduct.

“ The authority of the civil magistrate is in the mean time entirely superseded; and until a proper force is sent to protect them in the future execution of their duty, which has been anxiously required by the sheriff and magistrates, they dare not proceed in the common course of legal and judicial inquiry against any of the persons

persons who are suspected of being concerned in these violent and tumultuary proceedings. But it cannot escape the observations of the Committee, how accurately this intelligence corresponds with and confirms the information yesterday communicated, as to the state of the minds of these people in that neighbourhood; the alarm which their leaders feel as to the result of the legal inquiries at present depending; and the regular systematic connexion between them and the leaders at Edinburgh, as discovered from the yet unfinished and hasty examinations taken in that city.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HENRY DUNDAS.

Right Honble. Mr. Pitt.

SIR, Whitehall, 27th May, 1794.

I have this morning received farther information from Scotland; which appears to me proper to be communicated to the Committee.

The persons in whose custody the weapons, formerly described, were found, appear to have acted for some time past under the name of a Committee of Ways and Means appointed by the British Convention, and to have been empowered by the various Societies throughout Scotland to direct all their future proceedings.—By means of emissaries privately dispatched to different parts of the country, this Committee has signified to, and prepared a number of the Societies for the approaching Convention in England, many of whom have chosen, and all, as far as it is yet known, agreed to choose delegates to attend it, and subscribe for their expences.—The time and place of meeting was not divulged, and were to be communicated from Edinburgh in proper time, by individuals to be sent from thence for that purpose, whose arrival was daily looked for by several of the different Societies.—One of the Members of the late Convention at Edinburgh appears within this fortnight past to have been dispatched, and to have actually performed an extensive tour through the west part of Scotland, to have visited in his progress

" gress the towns of Queensferry, Falkirk, Stirling,
 " St. Ninians, Kelsyth, Kirkintulloch, Campsie, Glas-
 " gow, and Paisley; in all of which places he appears
 " to have met with the principal persons concerned in
 " these Societies; to have left with them, and the
 " members of the Societies, copies of a circular letter
 " from the committee of Edinburgh, and instructed
 " them in what manner they were in future to carry
 " on their correspondence: and to have suggested to
 " them the propriety of furnishing themselves with
 " arms, for the purpose of defence, under the pretence
 " of defending themselves against foreign troops.—An
 " attempt has been made to distribute some of the wea-
 " pons lately discovered at Edinburgh, by the means of
 " persons privately dispatched to the country for that
 " purpose; and which seems only to have failed in its
 " execution from the timidity of the persons solicited
 " to do so.*

" An individual of the same description has been
 " taken into custody in the country, who appears to
 " have commissioned, and actually received from Eng-
 " land, some musquets and bayonets. On being ques-
 " tioned by the proper magistrate, he has refused giving
 " any explanation, farther than that he commissioned
 " them in the way of his business.—But it does not ap-
 " pear that he ever dealt in such articles before; no
 " person appears to have commissioned him to procure
 " any such; and there seems to be full evidence of his
 " having solicited others to purchase what they of
 " themselves were not thinking of, or wishing to pro-
 " vide.

" He admits having corresponded with the London
 " Corresponding Society on the subject of a Conven-
 " tion, and that the Society of which he is a leader had
 " agreed to send delegates to it, as soon as the time and
 " place of meeting should be divulged.

" A requisition has been made by the magistrates and
 " principal inhabitants of Paisley, for a military force
 " to protect them in the execution of their duty, and
 " in their persons and property; which has been duly
 " attended to.—It is with much satisfaction I inform

* Vide Appendix A. (No. 2.)

D

" you,

“ you, that the gentlemen of estate and character in
“ the county of Renfrew have voluntarily stepped for-
“ ward, and determined to support the authority of the
“ civil magistrate.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ SIR,

“ Your most obedient

“ Humble servant,

“ HENRY DUNDAS.

“ Right Honble. Mr. Pitt.”

“ Whitehall, 2d June, 1794.

“ SIR,

“ The information I have received this morning from
“ Edinburgh, enables me to state to the Committee, that
“ the transactions communicated in my former letters
“ are farther cleared up by the inquiries which have since
“ taken place in that city.

“ Some of the persons who absconded on the first
“ discovery of the arms concealed in certain houses,
“ have been discovered and apprehended; and the re-
“ sult of these farther inquiries confirms, in almost
“ every particular, the account received from other
“ quarters, and the import of which I have already
“ laid before the Committee.—The establishment of a
“ Secret Committee at Edinburgh, invested with full
“ powers to direct the future operations of the Societies
“ throughout Scotland; the regular correspondence
“ privately carried on by means of emissaries dispatched
“ to the different towns; the ascertaining the exact
“ number of persons in these Societies, who were di-
“ rected to provide themselves with arms, and to hold
“ themselves in readiness for any measure which the
“ Secret Committee might in due time communicate,
“ are confirmed by every account and information
“ which the magistrates have received. And an indi-
“ vidual who has been lately taken into custody has
“ confirmed the account received from a different quar-
“ ter, of the dangerous design planned by the Edin-
“ burgh Committee, of effecting a general insurrection
“ as soon as they were ready and prepared for carrying
“ it into execution, by the seizure of the principal
“ magistrates and officers of the law at midnight, and
“ pos-

“ possessing themselves of the prisons and public offices,
 “ as stated to you in my letter of the 23d May; and
 “ then communicated through a different channel from
 “ that through which the present confirmation of these
 “ circumstances has been received. The plan seems not
 “ only to have been discussed and deliberated on by the
 “ ringleaders at Edinburgh, but to have proceeded a
 “ certain degree in its steps towards actual execution,
 “ which appear to have been conducted with the utmost
 “ caution; and there is reason to believe, that the exe-
 “ cution of the plan was not to be confined to Edin-
 “ burgh, but was meant to take place in some of the most
 “ considerable towns in Scotland on a certain day, and
 “ at one and the same time. The proper and usual steps
 “ have been taken for bringing the offenders to trial;
 “ and those against whom the information chiefly points
 “ are detained in custody.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ SIR,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ HENRY DUNDAS.

“ Right Honble. Mr. Pitt.”

From what has been stated it appears, that the design of
 arming, as far as it has yet proceeded, has been conducted
 with great secrecy and caution, and, at the same time, with
 a remarkable degree of uniformity and concert in parts of
 the kingdom remote from each other. The weapons princi-
 pally provided seem to have been peculiarly calculated for the
 purposes of sudden violence, and to have been chosen in con-
 formity to the example of what has recently passed in France.
 The actual progress made in the execution of the design, dur-
 ing the short period of a few weeks, sufficiently shews what
 might have been expected, if the societies had proceeded,
 without interruption, in increasing the number of their
 members, and the fund for providing arms.

YOUR COMMITTEE will next proceed to lay before
 the House an account of various remarkable circumstances
 which have appeared in the course of this investigation, and
 which furnish striking instances, either of the general prin-
 ciples on which the chief promoters of this plan have acted,
 or of specific measures which they had in contemplation, and

which, from their nature and importance, deserve to be particularly noticed.

The general disposition of the persons engaged in these measures, to applaud and promote the new political principles adopted in France, has been stated in the former report, and will be more detailed in the sequel; but it seems proper to your Committee here to mention some of the letters of two of the most active members of the Corresponding Society, which shew their adherence to the cause of France in the present war; their conviction of the connection between that cause and their own objects; and their views even of availing themselves, if possible, of the assistance of the French arms in carrying their designs into execution.

In a letter from Hardy to the United Societies at Norwich, dated the 17th October, 1793, which is inserted in the Appendix, there is this remarkable passage*—"The rejoicings for the capture of Valenciennes were not confined to Norwich alone. The ignorant every where else throughout the nation betrayed their imbecility on the occasion; but *the taking of a town*; the slaughtering of thousands of human beings; the laying waste whole provinces, or the enslaving a nation (*however great evils they may be*) can only, for a small space of time, retard the progress of truth and reason: *Be not disheartened therefore*, pursue your plan, instruct mankind, and constitutionally set your faces against existing abuses: Be assured that many are our friends, who only wait a favourable opportunity openly to join us, while our enemies have much enfeebled themselves and their cause by arbitrary exertions: Despotism is at its last gasp; one or two campaigns more will terminate its existence." And in a subsequent letter from Margarot to the United Societies at Norwich, dated in March last, the sentiments expressed are still more striking:† "This morning ten ships of war have left Spithead for the channel, and it is reported that the Brest fleet is out. Rumour, always magnifying things, says, there are seventy sail of the French at sea, *if so, there must be a number of transports among them, and a DESCENT MAY PROBABLY BE THE CONSEQUENCE. For God's sake, my worthy friends, do not relax in the cause of freedom—Continue as you have begun;—consolidate your own Societies;—unite with*

* Appendix B. (No. 1.)

† Appendix B. (No. 3.)

"others;

“ others ;—persevere, and make no doubt but sooner or later your endeavours will be crowned with success.” At the time of writing this last letter, Margarot was no longer in a situation to take a part in the proceedings of the Society, being then on board the vessel in which he was to be transported. But it appears to your Committee, that these expressions from him are of no small importance, considering the share which he appears, by much concurrent evidence, to have had, previous to his conviction, in directing the measures which were adopted; the uniform approbation and attachment which those Societies have shewn him since that date; and above all, that these very sentiments are addressed to the United Societies at Norwich, and that the mention of an expected descent from France is immediately followed by an exhortation to them to proceed, with fresh vigour, in the pursuit of their designs in this country.

The same spirit appears in a letter from the Secretary of the Corresponding Society in the month of January, 1794: * *“ Now is the time for us to do something worthy of men; the brave defenders of liberty south of the English channel are performing wonders, driving their enemies before them like chaff before the whirlwind.”*

Your Committee place less reliance on accounts of words used in conversation, than on evidence resulting from written documents; but they, nevertheless, think it proper to mention, that it has been distinctly stated in evidence, that, in the presence of two or three principal members of the Corresponding Society, a person (whose name was mentioned) used the expression, speaking of the French, *that a victory of theirs in Flanders was as useful to the cause as a victory in St. George's Fields*; and the same person appears to have held a conversation with these members of the Society, relative to the advantage which would be derived if the French could land 5,000 men in this country, to join those who should rise here.

Another leading circumstance has appeared to your Committee, which, however ineffectual it has naturally proved, furnishes a strong collateral proof of the extent of the views entertained, and that no means, however criminal, were neglected for promoting them. The circumstance referred

to, is a design, which has been the frequent subject of conversation among some members of the Corresponding Society, of endeavouring to seduce the army from their duty, and the actual employment of emissaries to tamper with the soldiers. In conformity with these views it also has appeared, that it was intended to prepare an address to the army; and a paper has been discovered in Scotland, which has been already referred to, the object of which was to endeavour to excite disaffection in the fencible regiments in that part of the kingdom, and which has actually been circulated with much industry among the soldiers of that description.

Various other schemes of the most daring and criminal nature, are also stated, on the evidence of persons who were present, to have been, at different times, the subject of conversation among persons, the greatest part of whom were members of this Society. It even appears, that a project has been particularly and repeatedly agitated among them, of striking a sudden blow, and beginning by securing the Royal Family, and the Members of both Houses of Parliament, with the hope (as it was expressed) "that the army, being without leaders, would no longer oppose their attempts." Particular individuals have been pointed out in these conversations, as objects of personal vengeance for their public conduct. Evidence has been given of discourses held concerning the rescue of the delegates of the Scotch Convention, while on board the transport in the river. An attack on Newgate was meditated, according to a particular plan referred to in the conversation, with the view of releasing the prisoners. A similar conversation was held with respect to an attack on the Tower; and in the letter from the Secretary of State, which has been inserted in a former part of the Report, it appears, that there is direct evidence of a plan regularly concerted at Edinburgh, for seizing, at an appointed time, all the public offices in that city, the banks, and the principal members of the courts of justice; and for making a similar attempt (in consequence of a secret concert among the members of the Societies in different places) at one and the same time, in some of the most considerable towns in Scotland.

Your Committee do not state the various circumstances which have been enumerated in this part of the Report, as shewing that these extensive projects, as far as relates to England, were as yet regularly digested, or in sufficient forward-

forwardness for actual execution ; but the evidence before them gives them every reason to believe that these views have been deliberately entertained, and made the repeated subject of conversation ; and they cannot but consider them as strong indications of the principles and intentions of the parties concerned, and of the nature of the measures which might have been expected if they had proceeded, without interruption, in increasing their numbers, and in providing arms in the different modes already stated.

There remains another circumstance, which, however, as far as it has yet been investigated, is traced distinctly only to two individuals, both of whom were members of the Corresponding Society, and principally concerned in some of their most remarkable transactions : whether any other members of the Society were or were not acquainted with it, has not appeared to your Committee. Three copies have been produced to your Committee (in all material parts conformable to each other) of a paper which purports to be a draft of resolutions intended to be proposed at the meeting which took place at Chalk Farm on the 14th of April, 1794. From the blank left for the place of meeting, it seems probable that it was prepared before that place was fixed upon : the resolutions are different from those which passed at the meeting, and there is no reason to believe that they were in fact proposed there ; but distinct evidence has been given of the hand-writing being that of the person in whose possession one of the copies was found, who is also proved to have shewn them as the resolutions which he intended should be proposed at the meeting ; and the two other copies were found among the papers of one of the most active members of the Society, who appears, previous to the meeting at Chalk Farm, to have been appointed, in conjunction with some others, to arrange the measures to be adopted, and at whose suggestion (subsequent to that appointment) the meeting is stated to have been postponed beyond the time originally proposed, because (as he is said to have represented) more time was necessary to make known the sentiments of the Society in bold and nervous resolutions. Your Committee think it right to insert here the paper itself, on which they will forbear to make any comment.

“ At a General Meeting of the London Corresponding So-
 “ ciety, held at on Monday the 14th day of
 “ April, 1794.

“ Citizen — in the chair,

“ Resolved, That all sovereign, legislative, and ju-
 “ dicial powers are the rights of the people ; and though
 “ the people have delegated those their original powers to
 “ others, in *trust*, for the benefit of the community, yet
 “ the rights themselves are reserved by the people, and
 “ cannot be absolutely parted with by the people to
 “ those persons who are employed to conduct the business
 “ of the state.

“ Resolved, That the Constitution of England is held
 “ by the King, Lords, and Commons, and other officers
 “ appointed by the people, in *trust*, for the benefit of the
 “ people ; and though these trustees may regulate and
 “ improve the Constitution, yet they cannot alter or
 “ subvert it without committing treason against the na-
 “ tion.

“ Resolved, That *Magna Charta*, or THE GREAT
 “ CHARTER OF THE LIBERTIES OF ENG-
 “ LAND, made in the reign of King John ; THE
 “ PETITION OF RIGHTS, assented to by Parlia-
 “ ment in the reign of King Charles the First ; and the
 “ several laws made at and in consequence of the *glori-*
 “ *ous Revolution* in the year 1688, are declaratory of those
 “ parts of the constitution of England, which are in and
 “ by them respectively declared.

“ Resolved, That the office of KING of England was
 “ not instituted by the people merely as an office of profit
 “ and honour to the King, but he was so appointed as
 “ chief trustee and guardian of the constitution and rights
 “ of the people ; and that important and laborious per-
 “ sonal duties are annexed to the regal office, the objects
 “ of which are, to promote the good of the people, and
 “ preserve their rights in full vigour from innovation and
 “ corruption.

“ Resolved, That it is the duty of the King to pre-
 “ serve the constitution of England and the rights of the
 “ people against every incroachment ; and, in order to
 “ enforce that duty, the following oath is required to be
 “ taken by every King on his accession to the throne of
 “ Great Britain ; to wit : the Archbishop or Bishop shall
 “ say—will you solemnly promise and swear to govern

“ the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same?”

“ The King or Queen shall say, “ I solemnly promise so to do.” Archbishop or Bishop.—“ Will you to your power cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgements?” ANSWER. “ I will.”

“ After this, the King or Queen, laying his or her hand on the Holy Gospels, shall say—“ The things which I have before promised, I will perform and keep; so help me God;”—and then shall kiss the book.”

“ Resolved, That his present Majesty, King George the Third, on his accession to the throne of these realms, did solemnly take the said oath.”

“ Resolved, That the constitutional rights of the people have been violated, and that it is the duty of the people, in the present alarming crisis, to assemble and inquire into the innovations or infringements which have been made upon the rights of the people, and how far the declarations of the constitution, as they were settled at the aforesaid revolution, remain in force, and which of them have been violated, and by whom; and also whether such innovations, infringements, and violations, have been committed from the negligence or corruption of those who have been intrusted with the government of the state.

“ Resolved, That this Society do invite the people to meet in their respective neighbourhoods, to elect one or more person or persons as delegates, to meet in a Convention to be held on the day of next, at such place as shall be appointed by the secret committee of this Society; and that the delegates so elected do forthwith transmit to the Secretary of this Society, No. 9, Piccadilly, London, the vouchers of their several elections, in order that the place of meeting may be duly notified to them.

“ Resolved, That it is the right and bounden duty of the people to punish all traitors against the nation, and that the following words are now not a part of the oath of allegiance; to wit, “ I declare that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to take arms against the King.”

Before the Committee quit this part of the subject, they think it not immaterial to take some notice of the different means used to disseminate such principles as have been stated through the lower orders of society, and to familiarize their minds, by every possible artifice, to such ideas as might prepare them to be the instruments of the most dangerous and desperate designs. Some of these means may at first sight be considered as too trivial to be mentioned on an occasion of this importance; but they appear to your Committee in a very different light, when they recollect that an essential part of such plan as has been in agitation, was to seduce and corrupt the thoughtless and uninformed, and to make use of the channels of communication best adapted to this purpose. The appearance of insignificance and levity, which belongs at first sight to this part of the system, is, in truth, only an additional proof of the art and industry with which it has been pursued. The measures employed for this purpose appear to have been deliberately prepared, and every contrivance used to mix them (in the shape most likely to captivate attention) with the ordinary occupations or amusements of those on whom they were intended to operate. Accordingly lectures have been delivered on political subjects, calculated from their very extravagance to catch the attention of the audience, and in the course of them every topic has been employed that could inflame their minds, alienate them from the laws and constitution of their country, and habituate them to principles of sedition and rebellion. The most violent publications to the same effect have been secretly, but generally, circulated in hand bills, both in the metropolis and in the remote parts of the country. Every point that could excite discontent, according to the pursuits, interests, or prejudices of different classes, has been successively dwelt on, and always in such a manner as to connect it with the leading design. The attempt to accomplish this end has appeared in the shape even of play bills and songs; seditious toasts; and a studied selection of the tunes which have been most in use in France since the revolution, have been applied to the same purpose, of endeavouring to render deliberate incitements to every species of treason familiar to the minds of the people.

HAVING thus stated the points which the Committee have thought it material separately to lay before the House, they will now proceed to those particulars which will give a full and distinct view of the rise, progress, and nature of the general design with which the facts already stated are essentially connected;

needed; for this purpose your Committee will state in their Report the points which appear most worthy of attention, inserting in the Appendix a more particular statement of the several proceedings to which they refer. In doing this, it will be necessary to advert to transactions, some of which took place at an early period, and have already attracted observation; but which it is nevertheless material to insert in the order in which they took place, because they are highly important in explaining more recent proceedings, and giving a connected view of the whole system.

The period from which it appears to your Committee material to trace in this view the proceedings of the Society for Constitutional Information, is that of the publication of the pamphlet so well known under the title of “ Rights of Man, ” by Thomas Paine.”

Your Committee have already referred, in their former Report, to the approbation given by the society to this work; and this is one of the points on which they should not think it necessary now to dwell, if they did not feel it essential to the object before stated, of developping the rise and progress of the system which they are tracing, to call the attention of the House to the leading features of a work thus approved and recommended, in order to compare it with subsequent transactions, of which it may be considered as the foundation.

In this pamphlet, published in the year 1791, the National Assembly of France was represented as occupied in establishing a constitution founded on the rights of man, and the authority of the people, the only authority on which (it was stated) government had a right to exist in any country; monarchy and hereditary succession were treated as absurdities; the revolution of 1688, and the succession of the House of Hanover, were also made the subject of ridicule; and a distinction was drawn between two modes of government, which were stated to prevail in the world: first, government by election and representation; and, secondly, government by hereditary succession. The former generally known by the name of republic, the latter by that of monarchy and aristocracy. On the 23d March, 1791, the society resolved, “ That the thanks of the society should be given to Mr. Thomas Paine, in the terms expressed in the “ copy of their resolutions of this day,” inserted in the appendix.*

* Appendix C. 23d March, 1791.

A continuation of Paine's book, intituled, "Rights of Man, Part the Second, combining Principle and Practice," was published early in 1792, in which the principles of the British constitution were again attacked; the principles on which the French constitution, accepted by the King in 1791, had been established, were approved, with an exception of *the hereditary succession to the crown*: this pamphlet, recommending the overthrow of the British constitution, and the establishment of a democratical senate, as the sole legislative and executive power of the state, was also circulated with great industry; and the Society for Constitutional Information, on the 16th of March 1792,* expressed their approbation of the work, in answer to a letter from the Manchester Constitutional Society, containing the thanks of that society to Mr. Paine. On the 23d of March, 1792,† the Constitutional Society at Sheffield applied to the London Society, that twelve of their members might be admitted as associated members of the London Society; and there appears in the books of the London Society a printed paper of the Sheffield Society, in which that society declares, that the practice as well as the principle of government was laid down in the works intituled, "Rights of Man, Part the First and Second," in a manner *so clear and irresistibly convincing*, that the society resolved to give their thanks to Mr. Paine for those publications.

Other entries, expressive of approbation of the same works, and of other seditious publications, frequently appear in the same books during the course of the year 1792.‡

In Easter term, 1792, an information was filed in the Court of King's Bench, by the King's Attorney General, against Thomas Paine, for writing and publishing the last pamphlet, on which he was convicted in December 1792. During this prosecution another pamphlet was published, under the title of "An Address to the Addressers on the late Proclamation, by Thomas Paine." This pamphlet, after stating that "two revolutions had taken place, those of America and France," adds, "both of them have rejected the *unnatural compounded system of the English government*. America has declared against all hereditary government, and established the representative system of government only; France has entirely rejected the aristocratical part, and is now discovering the absurdity of the monarchical, and is approaching fast to the

* Appendix C. 16th Mar. 1792.

† Appendix C. 23d Mar. 1792.

‡ Appendix C. 1792.

“*representative system.*”* The pamphlet then treats monarchy, and every species of hereditary government, as a fraud and imposition; asserts, “for a nation to be free it is sufficient that the wills it;”† treats the reform of parliament by parliament itself as absurd; denies the power of parliament to reform any part of the constitution; asserts that it is not a subject cognizable before parliament, and that the right, and the exercise of that right, appertains to the nation only,‡ and that the proper means is by a *national convention, elected for the purpose by all the people*; that such a body, empowered and supported by the nation, would have authority to demand information upon all matters necessary to be inquired into, and the nation would decree its own reforms. The pamphlet then states that the plan and organization of a convention was easy in practice;§ and proceeds to shew the manner in which, supposing the inhabitants of England to be seven millions, a convention of 1,000 members might be elected in an orderly manner;§ adding, that “a convention of 1,000 persons, fairly elected, would bring every matter to a decided issue.”|| This latter pamphlet was not made the subject of any express resolutions of the society; but during the prosecution of Mr. Paine for the former work, the Society for Constitutional Information entered into a subscription to defray his expences, and encouraged the like support from other societies, as appears by several entries in the books of the society.¶ And this mark of their approbation of his principles having been continued after the publication last mentioned, seems to afford a full proof that this circumstance had made no change in the sentiments of the society towards him.

The principles laid down in these publications appearing thus to be approved and sanctioned by the society, will be found to be gradually and successively adopted and acted upon in their proceedings. On the 30th of March 1792,** the London Corresponding Society sent to the Society for Constitutional Information several resolutions, among which were the following:

“That every individual has a right to share in the government of that society of which he is a member, unless incapacitated.

* P. 37. † P. 51. ‡ P. 66. § P. 66, 67. || P. 71.

¶ Appendix C. 1792.

** Appendix C. 30th Mar. 1792.

“That

“ That nothing but non-age, a privation of reason, or
 “ an offence against the general rules of society, can in-
 “ capacitate him.”

These resolutions, containing the principle of universal suffrage, were adopted without reserve, and with strong expressions of approbation, by the Constitutional Society.

On the 20th of April following, a declaration from a society in Southwark appears entered in the books of the Constitutional Society, with their thanks for the communication.* This declaration expresses more fully the grounds on which the societies intended to proceed, adopting many important principles which had been made the foundation of the French revolution, in the following terms :

“ That all civil and political authority is derived from
 “ the people.

“ That equal active citizenship is the unalienable right
 “ of all men ; minors, criminals, and insane persons ex-
 “ cepted.

“ That the exercise of that right, in appointing an ade-
 “ quate *representative government*, is the wisest device of
 “ human policy, and the only security of national free-
 “ dom.”

The resolutions of the Sheffield Society having suggested universal suffrage, and the Southwark Society having added the general idea of a *representative government*, a society, called The Norwich Revolution Society, on the 26th of April 1792, sent a letter to the Constitutional Society, entered in the minutes of their proceedings on the 4th of May 1792, in which there is this passage :† “ This society is willing to hope the redress of
 “ every existing grievance at the hands of a government result-
 “ ing from an extraordinary convocation, in 1688, of all who
 “ had at any preceding time been elected representatives of the
 “ people, assisted by the hereditary counsellors of the nation,
 “ and a peculiar deputation from the metropolis, *which national*
 “ *constituting assembly* cashiered for misconduct a King of the
 “ House of Stuart.”

It seems evidently to be the intention of this passage to represent the Revolution of 1688 as a precedent for a *national consti-*

* Appendix C. 20th Apr. 1792. † Appendix C. 4th May 1792.

zuting assembly, and to shelter under that authority the indirect recommendation of the proceedings and terms which have recently been adopted in France.

This communication, with orders from different societies at Norwich, were followed by a resolution, expressing that the Society for Constitutional Information received them with *heartfelt satisfaction*, and desired earnestly to concur and co-operate with those societies in their laudable objects.*

They also elected twelve members of the Norwich Society associated members of their own society.

And they added a resolution, that a committee should be appointed to consider whether any and what communications should be made, and by what means, by the society, with the Society of Friends of the Constitution at Paris.

It appears by entries of the 11th of May 1792,† that “The Society of Friends of the Constitution at Paris,” mentioned in the former resolution, were the Jacobin Club there; and on the same day it was resolved that there should be a communication with that club; and an address was read and agreed to, and ordered to be signed by the chairman, and transmitted to Paris.

Towards the close of the same year, and some time subsequent to the revolution of the 10th of August, which finally destroyed all traces of monarchy in France, the society resolved to address the National Convention, which was then invested with the whole legislative and executive government, and was assembled for the purpose of framing a new constitution, and proceeding to the trial of the King. This paper is conceived in terms which leave no room to doubt of the views of those who framed it.‡ The address styles the Convention “*Servants of a Sovereign People, and Benefactors of Mankind*.” It rejoices that the revolution in France had arrived at that *point of perfection, which enabled the society to address the Convention by that title*; and it declares that that is the only title that can accord with the character of true legislators: it speaks of the proceedings of the 10th of August as a glorious victory, which had finally prepared the way for a constitution, which the society trusted the Convention would establish on the basis of reason

* Appendix C. 4th May 1792.

† Appendix C. 11th May 1792.

‡ Appendix C. 9th Nov. 1792.

and nature. It represents the proceedings of the Convention as labours in the work of human happiness, and adds, "THE BENEFITS WILL IN PART BE OURS, but the glory will be all your own; and it is the reward of your perseverance; it is the prize of virtue." Then, drawing a comparison between the state of liberty in England, America, and France, it not only gives a decided preference to the American republic over the British monarchy, but treats the splendour of the French revolution as the object of the highest admiration.

This address was ordered to be presented by two of the members of the society at the bar of the National Convention; and it was presented accordingly.

But the terms of this address are not the only evidence on this head.* An address, framed a short time before by the London Corresponding Society, which had been communicated to the Constitutional Society, and had received their express approbation, and which was presented likewise to the French Convention, contained passages clearly expressing the same intent, and suggesting the idea of a triple alliance (not of crowns, but) of *the people* of America, France and Britain, to give freedom to Europe, and peace to the whole world.

These transactions are rendered still more remarkable by the verbal address of the deputies at the time of presenting the address of the society, and by the answer of the president, which they transmitted. The letters of the deputies to the society have been found among the papers of that society, together with a copy of the address of the deputies, and the answer of the president. In the first, after pointing out their wishes to effect in their own country a revolution similar to that made in France, the deputies consider the example of France as having made *revolutions easy*; and add, that it would not be extraordinary if, in a short space of time, the French should send addresses of congratulation to a *National Convention of England*; and the president in his answer says, "*The moment, without doubt, approaches when the French shall bring congratulations to the National Convention of Great Britain.*"

On the 7th of December 1792,† the letter of the deputies was read in the society, as appears by an entry in their books.

* Appendix C. 12th Oct. 1792

† Appendix C.

In January 1793,* Barrere, Roland, and St. André were elected (as has been mentioned in the former Report) honorary members of the society; and on the 1st February, the speeches of Barrere and St. André were ordered to be entered on the books of the society, and this resolution ordered to be printed in the newspapers, which it actually was on the 5th of February 1793.

The circumstance of the time at which this marked approbation was publicly given to leading members of the National Convention of France, would render this measure of itself a strong indication of the views of the society, and as such it was referred to by the Committee in their former Report.

But on more particular reference to the speeches themselves, which were thus recommended to public notice, this transaction will be found to be of much more importance; it is not barely an approbation of leading persons, professing principles, and pursuing measures hostile to the general interests of the country: the speeches were delivered for the express purpose of accelerating the condemnation and execution of the French King. The doctrines contained in them directly relate to the precise object of a *national convention*, and to the question of the personal responsibility of sovereigns; they contain a statement of the rights, duties, and functions of such an assembly; which cannot be supposed to have been recommended to the public attention for any other possible purpose than that of laying the foundation of a similar proceeding in this country, and that with the direct intention of employing it for the destruction of the Sovereign, and the utter subversion of the constitution. This conclusion will be fully justified by an extract from the speeches in question, which are expressed in terms so remarkable, that the Committee cannot too strongly recommend them to the attention of the House.

The following passage is extracted from St. André's speech:

"Your right to decide the fate of the King, arises
"from your being a revolutionary assembly created by the
"nation in a state of insurrection."

Barrere's speech is much more full and more systematically reasoned; it is divided into several heads, from which the following extracts are taken:

* Appendix C. 18th & 25th Jan. & 1st Feb. 1793.

“ This proceeding (speaking of the trial of the King)
 “ is of the highest importance to public order, absolutely
 “ necessary to the existence of liberty, and connected with
 “ whatever is held most sacred by the nation. From the
 “ calmness and temper which have distinguished the deli-
 “ berations of the Convention on this occasion, it may be
 “ foreseen that justice and reason will direct its ultimate
 “ sentence. History will record the striking contrast be-
 “ tween kings, who in the midst of the dissipation of
 “ courts sign proscriptions and death warrants for the de-
 “ struction of thousands of citizens, and the representa-
 “ tives of the people, who deliberate with wisdom and
 “ caution on the punishment of a single despot.

“ It is the destiny of kings to be the occasion of the ca-
 “ lamities of the people, whether they remain on their
 “ thrones, or whether they are precipitated from them.

“ P A R T II.

“ Whether the *person of the King* be inviolable ?

“ The people of Paris, by making an holy insurrection
 “ against the King on the 10th of August, deprived him
 “ of his character of inviolability. The people of the
 “ other departments applauded this insurrection, and
 “ adopted the consequence of it. The people have there-
 “ fore formally interposed to destroy this royal inviola-
 “ bility. The tacit consent of the people rendered the
 “ person of the King inviolable. The act of insurrection
 “ was a tacit repeal of that consent, and was founded on
 “ the same grounds of law as the consent itself.—The
 “ King’s person is inviolable only with relation to the
 “ other branches of the legislature, but not with relation
 “ to the people.”

“ P A R T III.

“ Whether an *appeal shall be made to the people* ?

“ The people is the sovereign.

“ A convention differs from an ordinary legislature in
 “ this respect.—A legislature is only a species of superin-
 “ tending magistracy, a moderator of the powers of go-
 “ vernment.—A convention is a perfect representation of
 “ the sovereign.—The members of the Legislative Assem-
 “ bly acted in August upon these principles.—In sum-
 “ moning the Convention they declare, that they saw but
 “ one

“ one measure which could save France; namely, to
 “ have recourse to the supreme will of the people, and
 “ to invite the people to exercise immediately that in-
 “ alienable right of sovereignty which the constitution
 “ had acknowledged, and which it could not subject to any
 “ restriction. The public interest required that the peo-
 “ ple should manifest their will by the election of a Na-
 “ tional Convention, formed of representatives invested
 “ by the people with unlimited powers.—The people
 “ did manifest their will, by the election of that Conven-
 “ tion.—The Convention being assembled, is itself that so-
 “ vereign will which ought to prevail.—It would be con-
 “ trary to every principle, to suppose that the Convention
 “ is not alone exclusively the expression of the general
 “ will.

“ The powers of the Convention must, from the very
 “ nature of the Assembly, be unlimited with respect to
 “ every measure of general safety, such as the execution
 “ of a tyrant.—It is no longer a Convention if it has not
 “ power to judge the King.

“ A convention is a constituent body, *i. e.* a body that
 “ is to make a constitution for the people.—A legislature
 “ makes laws under an established constitution, and in
 “ conformity to it. It is despotism when in the ordinary
 “ and permanent establishment of a state there is no sepa-
 “ ration of powers; but it is of the very essence of a
 “ constituent body to concenter for the time all authority.
 “ —It is the very nature of a national convention to be
 “ the temporary image of the nation, to unite in itself
 “ all the powers of the state, to employ them against the
 “ enemies of liberty, and to distribute them in a new so-
 “ cial compact called a constitution.

“ Behold that Constituent Assembly which laid the first
 “ foundations of your liberty! Behold that revolutionary
 “ genius! which broke through every impediment, ex-
 “ ceeded its delegated authority, created its own powers
 “ according to the exigencies of liberty, and to the occa-
 “ sional wants of the people, destroyed all prejudices by
 “ the force of that public opinion to which it gave birth,
 “ obliterated all privileges, abolished all the parliaments,
 “ changed the form and tenure of all property, as well
 “ as the measure and sign of all value, and made a perjur-
 “ ed King its prisoner! Nothing was wanting to im-

“ mortalize that Assembly, but to have delivered France
 “ from the calamity of kingly government, and to have
 “ relieved you from the duty of judging the last of your
 “ kings.

“ With this example before your eyes, you hesitate
 “ even in the first step of your duty.—Am I then no
 “ longer in the midst of that National Convention, whose
 “ honourable mission it was to destroy Kings and Royal-
 “ ty ?”

HAVING thus traced the proceedings of the Society for Constitutional Information to the period when the commencement of the war with France necessarily interrupted the developement of their principles and designs by their correspondence with that country, your Committee will now lay before the House such particulars as relate to their proceedings at home, in concert with the London Corresponding Society, and with the several societies in different parts of the country, during the same period.

From these it will appear—That not only the London Corresponding Society, but all the principal societies in the country, have been regulated under the immediate auspices of the Society for Constitutional Information, and have, both in their origin and progress, looked up to that society for their guidance and direction in the pursuit of their common Object :

That particularly since the institution of the corresponding Society, which appears from a very early period to have had an intimate connection with the Society for Constitutional Information, a system of general correspondence has been established, by means of which the principles of that society (such as they have been already stated) have been widely diffused and disseminated through the country :

That throughout the whole of this extensive correspondence, the strongest marks appear of an almost universal agreement and co-operation among the country societies, not only in the general principles to which your Committee has already referred, but also in the nature and frame of the Societies, in the system of concert and delegation, and in the particular object of forming a National Convention for the purpose of carrying their principles into full effect ; and that traces of this design are to be found in a greater or less degree at a very early period of this correspondence.

The London Corresponding Society was instituted in Jan. 1792. A general account of the plan according to which it was formed and distributed into different divisions, has already been given in the last Report, and a list of the number of divisions, which had been gradually established, has been found among the papers in the possession of the secretary.

In one of the first communications from the London Corresponding Society to the Society for Constitutional Information,* they state that “ The delegates of the Corresponding Society think it their duty to acquaint the Constitutional Society, without delay, of the subscription begun amongst several of their divisions for the defence of the prosecution said to be commenced against that worthy member of the Constitutional Society, Mr. Thomas Paine, in consequence of his valuable publication, intitled “ The Rights of Man ;” and that they had no doubt that a numerous body would be found to follow an example, so just in itself, and so essential to the support of that small portion of liberty which the people of England are still supposed to enjoy. That the approbation and encouragement which their feeble endeavours had met with from the Constitutional Society, made them desirous of uniting more strongly and more immediately with that society, and for this purpose they wished that six of their members might be admitted into the Constitutional Society, after the manner of those received from the societies at Sheffield and Norwich.”

The London Corresponding Society signify that they are highly favoured by the readiness of the Constitutional Society to admit Six of their Members,† and that their sense of the favour so conferred will be best expressed by their close attendance at the Instructive Meetings of the Constitutional Society, and by their constant endeavours to forward the so beneficial, and so much wanted reform of Parliamentary Representation.

The following Series of Extracts is taken from the Correspondence, both of the Society for Constitutional Information and of the London Corresponding Society, with the several Societies instituted in the country.‡

* Appendix D. 14th March, 1792.

† London Corresponding Society, 6th July, 1791.

‡ Appendix D.
The

The first is a letter from Sheffield to the secretary of the Constitutional Society, dated 15th January 1792,* stating that the society established at Sheffield humbly solicits the advice and assistance of the Constitutional Society for the purpose of forming a connection *with all similar societies in England*; and adds, that information of the methods, terms, and manner of application for the above purpose, as likewise the admission of one of their members into the Constitutional Society, will be esteemed a particular favour, and gratefully acknowledged. In the postscript to the letter, an account is given of the origin of the Sheffield Society; and it is stated, that it at first originated in an assembly of five or six mechanics, who from conversation about the enormous high price of provisions, the unbounded authority of the monopolists of all ranks, from the King to the Peasant, and the waste of the public property by placemen, pensioners, luxury, and debauchery, together with the mock representation of the people, concluded that nothing but ignorance in the people could suffer the natural rights of every freeman to be thus violated. They formed a society which was gradually increasing, and divided into separate bodies. They re-published Paine's Rights of Man at the low price of 6d. each copy, to which they proposed to annex an abstract of the noted iniquitous Corn Bill of last year.

The same Society at Sheffield,† in a letter to the Constitutional Society, mention that their numbers increase, for that most of the towns and villages in the neighbourhood are forming themselves into similar associations, and strictly adhere to the mode of copying the Sheffield Society. They return thanks for the kind communications which they have received from the principal members of the Constitutional Society; and they enclose a parcel for the secretary of the London Corresponding Society, in answer to a letter of his, by which he had informed them, that there were in London a number of mechanics, shopkeepers, &c. forming themselves into a society, *on the broad basis of the Rights of Man*, and desiring to know the manner of conducting this business at Sheffield: in answer to which, the Sheffield Society had given them their manner of proceeding, and hoped it might be of some use, as the improvement they were about to adopt was certainly the best for managing large bodies in

* Sheffield, 15th January, 1792.

† Sheffield, 14th March, 1792.

great and populous towns, viz. dividing them into small bodies or meetings of ten persons each, and these ten persons to appoint a delegate; ten of these delegates to form another meeting; and so on, delegating from one to another, till at last they are reduced to a proper number for constituting the committee or grand council.

The Society at Sheffield express their determination to obtain a radical reform of the country, as soon as prudence and discretion will permit,* and to establish it upon that system which is consistent with the rights of man; for these reasons, they request, that certain members of their society may be admitted into the Constitutional Society, in order that the Society at Sheffield may be strengthened, and enabled to extend useful knowledge from town to village, and from village to town, until the whole nation be sufficiently enlightened and united in the same cause; which, they say, cannot fail of being the case, wherever the most excellent works of Mr. Thomas Paine find residence.

The Constitutional Society at Manchester transmit a copy of their resolution to the Constitutional Society in London,† in which they resolve that *their thanks are due to Mr. Thomas Paine, for the publication of the Second Part of the Rights of Man, combining principle and practice: they stile it a work of the highest importance to every nation under Heaven, but particularly to this: they express their hope, that in consequence of the effect of this work a complete reform in the present inadequate state of the representation of the people will be accomplished; and that the other great plans of public benefit which Mr. Paine has so powerfully recommended, will speedily be carried into effect.*

The delegates of the United Constitutional Societies at Norwich communicate to the London Society for Constitutional Information a number of resolutions, in which they express their happiness at the admission of the delegation from Sheffield, in order to form a plan of general information;‡ they humbly beg to be admitted to the same favour, and express *their wish that all the societies of a similar kind in England were strongly and indissolubly united in one political body: they return their thanks to Mr. Thomas Paine for his first and second parts of the Rights of Man; they sincerely wish that he*

* Sheffield, 24th March, 1792.

† Manchester, 15th March, 1792.

‡ Norwich, 24th March, 1792;

may see his labours crowned with success in the general diffusion of liberty and happiness among mankind: they signify that their numbers are increasing; and they earnestly entreat all their brethren to increase their associations, in order to form one grand extensive union of all the friends of general liberty.

In a letter * to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society, the Society at Stockport return thanks to the Corresponding Society for their kindness, which they say will be useful in the formation of the infant society at that place; that they stand much in need of their experience in this particular. They state, that they have carefully perused the addresses, of which a parcel has been sent them by the London Corresponding Society; and observe on their contents in general, that the sentiments hardly rise to that height which they expected from men sensible of their full claims to absolute and uncontrollable liberty, *i. e. unaccountable to any power which they have not immediately constituted and appointed.* They further state, that these are their sentiments, whatever be those of the London Corresponding Society, though in the present state of political knowledge it may be prudent not to avow them openly; they desire to be informed of the means of accomplishing their common object; and they conclude with the following words:

“ We observe one expression, which says, numerous other reforms would undoubtedly take place, &c.

“ But we ask, How is that Parliament to be chosen?

“ Can we expect it from the present order of things?

“ *Would not the evil be done away at once by the people as-*

“ *sembled in convention?*—Does it appear probable, that

“ the odious laws of which we complain will be abo-

“ lished by any other way? *Can the grievances arising*

“ *from aristocracy be redressed, while the ——— retains his*

“ *present authority in the legislature? Is the universal right*

“ *of conscience ever to be attained, while the B. maintain*

“ *their seats on the ———?*

“ Your thoughts on these important points we most

“ earnestly desire may be transmitted as soon as possible,

“ not directed as the last, as we fear it will excite suspi-

“ cion.”

“ (Signed)

“ _____ ”

* Stockport, 27th Sept. 1792.

A let-

A letter* from Margatot (the President) to the Friends of Universal Peace and the Rights of Man, at Stockport, says, "with regard to the publications of the London Corresponding Society, they are expressed in as strong terms as prudence will permit, yet plainly enough to convince the public, that while we expect every thing from an honest and annual Parliament, nothing short of such a senate, chosen by the whole nation, will satisfy us."—The letter proceeds to state an intention of countenancing the struggle of the French nation against despotism and aristocracy, by addressing the French National Convention.

A copy of the address is inclosed, and a concurrence of the Stockport Society is solicited. The letter concludes thus: "If on the contrary you disapprove of that mark of zeal towards the *only* nation that has hitherto undertaken to restore mankind to their just rights, please to communicate to us your objections.

A letter† from the editors of The Patriot, to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society, expresses their commendation of the laudable spirit which has induced the London Corresponding Society to address the Convention of France; states the encouragement which they had given to the Society also to give it their sanction, advice, and support; announces that several societies have been formed within the last three weeks at Edinburgh; and that they had received some most spirited communications from thence. The letter concludes: "we clearly foresee that Scotland will soon take the lead of this country, and conceive it will be necessary to take the greatest care that an universal communication should be constantly kept up between the several societies, however distant, and that all should determine to act upon the same principle, as near as may be, in a regulation and active union. It was by this method that France became so thoroughly united, and we ought never to lose sight of it."

A letter from the Secretary to the Society at Stockport, to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society, has these terms:

* London Corresponding Society, 11th Oct. 1792.

† Sheffield, 15th Oct. 1792.

“ * I am directed by the *Friends of Universal Peace and the Rights of Man*, to inform you that we received two letters from you, the first dated September 21, requesting us to concert with you in transmitting to the French National Convention an address signed by every member, &c.

“ With respect to the *substance* of this letter, we believe that the *cause* of the *French* is that of every individual Person in Europe, that is not fattening on plunder, or through ignorance, obstinacy, and inattention, sit unconcerned, and will not be persuaded to consider, although inevitable ruin should be the awful consequence.

“ We therefore think it highly necessary to add our friendly aid and assistance, in order to stimulate the oppressed friends of freedom in France against all the despots in Europe (who are combined against the just and equal rights of man) by assuring them that we view their signal exertions and wonderful victories with admiration, together with the extinction of treacherous royalty, and the restoring to every individual his equal and indubitable rights, as fellow men and free citizens; and that our hearts are united with theirs as in one common cause, considering as in a great measure their victory our emancipation, together with their own.

“ Yet, should it ever be the case that our Ministry should be so perfidious as, contrary to their pledged faith of neutrality, to join the execrable band of despots against the cause of freedom, we will stand forward, even to the hazarding our lives, by using every justifiable means to counteract their machinations, and give to the friends of freedom all the encouragement and support which we severally unsupported can afford.”

A letter † to the Secretary of the London Society for Constitutional Information states, that the people of Leicester are to have their first adjourned meeting in a few days, and that they stand in need of a sort of creed for immediate publication and one ‡ from the Norwich Society states, that having found, that the Friends of the People, and Society for Constitutional Information, do not exactly agree, they wish to know the reason.

* Stockport, 3d Nov. 1792.

† Leicester, 9th Nov. 1792.

‡ Norwich, 11th Nov. 1792.

That it appears to them, that the difference was this—The Friends of the People mean only a partial reform, because they leave out the words expressing the Duke of Richmond's plan, and talk only of a reform; while the Manchester people seem to intimate, by addressing Mr. Paine, that they were intent upon republican principles only; to come close to the main question, they desire to know whether the generality of the societies mean to rest satisfied with the Duke of Richmond's plan only, or *whether it is their private design to rip up monarchy by the root, and to place democracy in its stead?*—The letter then gives an account of the plan which the Norwich Society wish to obtain, and which has already been moved for at their general meeting, namely, a full and equal representation of the whole body of the people.

The Manchester Reformation Society state,* that the cause of Liberty goes on rapidly in that town; their numbers increase; and they desire to be admitted to correspond with the London Society for Constitutional Information.

A Society at Leicester † request every particular requisite to enable them to establish a constitutional society there, similar to that in London, and those at Manchester, Stockport, &c. They desire all that is necessary by the first mail; they state, that they want laws, orders, principles, creeds, addresses, declarations, and resolutions; and a letter from a meeting at Coventry solicits the London Society for Constitutional Information to transmit a plan of the Sheffield, or any other society which they may think best adapted to produce the end of establishing a constitutional society at Coventry.‡

When § the London Corresponding Society found that their conduct began to attract notice, they published a long justification of it, which they communicated to the Society for Constitutional Information. This paper, the professed object of which is to prove the moderation of the Society, and to vindicate them from the imputation thrown out against them, concludes in the following words:—"Let us wait, and watch the ensuing session of Parliament, from which we have much to hope and little to fear. The House of Commons may have been the source of our calamity—it may prove that of our deliverance; should it not, we trust we shall

* Manchester, 13th Nov. 1792.
 † Coventry, 26th Nov. 1792.

† Leicester, 15th Nov. 1792.
 § 30th Nov. 1792.

“ not prove ourselves unworthy of our forefathers, whose exertions in the cause of mankind so well deserve our imitation.”

YOUR COMMITTEE have thus given a view of the different proceedings to the close of the year 1792. Early in 1793, the joint correspondence of the two societies in London with the country societies seems to have been directed to the ostensible purpose of obtaining petitions to the House of Commons, in favour of a reform in the parliamentary representation, and also petitions from the same societies against the continuance of the war.—A series of letters relating to these objects is inserted in the Appendix :* but your Committee think it necessary to call the particular attention of the House to extracts from some part of this correspondence, from which it will appear, that the measure of addressing petitions to the House of Commons in 1793, on the subject of parliamentary reform, was adopted without either any approbation of that mode of application, or any hope of success in its professed object; and that the societies approved of those petitions, even in the exceptionable language in which they were expressed, with no other view than that of accommodating themselves; for a time, to supposed prejudices and circumstances, and of opening the way to the prosecution of their design in that mode which they have since actually pursued, and which appears even then to have been in their contemplation. From some of these letters † it is evident, that the London Corresponding Society had, previous to the month of March, 1793, (although the letter itself, in which they did so, has not been found) stated, for the consideration of the country societies, three propositions:

First, A Petition to Parliament.

Secondly, A Petition to the King.

Thirdly, A Convention.

And in a subsequent letter of the 4th of March, from the Corresponding Society to the society at Sheffield, there is this paragraph :

* Appendix C. 12th Apr. 1793.

† Appendix E. March 1793.

“With regard to petitioning Parliament, we are unanimously of opinion, *that such a petition will not produce a reform*; yet from many considerations we are now persuaded, *that if every society in the island will send forward a petition*, we shall ultimately gain ground, forasmuch as it will force the members of the senate repeatedly to discuss the subject, and their deliberations, printed in the different newspapers, will most naturally awaken the public mind towards the object of our pursuit. The nation, once informed that a reform in Parliament is sought for in different quarters, gives rise to debates in the House of Commons (and is acknowledged in every rank to be wanting) will begin to exercise their own reasons on the subject; *arrived at that period, we presume our business will be nearly accomplished.*”

In a letter from the United Political Societies at Norwich,* dated 5th of March, 1793, to the Society for Constitutional Information, they state, that they see a great propriety in universal suffrage and annual election; but wish to know what has been collected to be the sense of the people; that the Corresponding Societies of London have recently submitted three propositions for their investigation;

Whether a petition to Parliament, or an address to the King, or a Convention: they say, that they are a conquered people under that degrading necessity—to state their grievances to the House of Commons, with a request for redress; and should they refuse to grant their reasonable petitions, they have still got (no thanks to them) a formidable engine that will convey the insult to the remotest parts of the kingdom. As to the propriety of the second, they say, they are dubious of its good consequences. Lastly, as to a Convention, they say, it is the object that they pursue; that they esteem any other means only in subordination to, and as having a tendency to accomplish that desirable end; but, they add, wishing to be in union with their brethren, they desire to know whether it is necessary to obtain signatures to a petition.

The answer to this letter from Norwich has been already mentioned in the former Report:† it refers to the three questions stated, and contains the paragraph inserted in the former Report.

* Norwich, March, 1793.

† Corresponding Society, April 16, 1793.

“Where,

“ Where, then, are we to look for the remedy ? To that
 “ Parliament of which we complain ? To the executive
 “ power, which is implicitly obeyed, if not anticipated in
 “ Parliament ? Or to ourselves, represented in some meeting
 “ of delegates for the especial purpose of reform, which we
 “ suppose you understand by the term *Convention* ? ” — It
 then proceeds :

“ It is the end of each of these propositions, that we ought
 “ to look to ; and as success in a good cause must be the effect
 “ of perseverance, and the rising reason of the time, let us de-
 “ termine with coolness, but let us persevere with decision.
 “ As to a Convention, we regard it as a plan, the most desi-
 “ rable and most practicable, so soon as the great body of the
 “ people shall be courageous and virtuous enough to join us in
 “ the attempt. Hitherto we have no reason to believe that
 “ the moment is arrived for that purpose. As to any petition
 “ to the crown, we believe it hopeless in its consequences.
 “ With respect to the last of the proposals, we are at a loss to
 “ advise. If the event is looked to in the vote which may be
 “ obtained from that body to whom this petition is to be ad-
 “ dressed, which of us can look to it without the prospect of an
 “ absolute negative ? In this point of view, therefore, it can-
 “ not require a moment’s consideration.

“ But if we regard the *policy* of such a measure, it may, in
 “ our apprehension, be well worth considering as a warning
 “ voice to our present legislators, and as a signal for intimation
 “ to the majority of the people.

“ Should such a plan be vigorously and generally pursued,
 “ it would hold out a certainty to our fellow countrymen, that
 “ we are not a handful of individuals unworthy of attention or
 “ consideration, who desire the restoration of the ancient li-
 “ berties of England ; but, on the contrary, it might bring
 “ into light that host of well-meaning men, who, in the dif-
 “ ferent towns and counties of this realm, are silently but se-
 “ riously anxious for reformation in the government.

“ We exhort you with anxiety to pursue your laudable en-
 “ deavours for the common good, and never to despair of the
 “ public cause.”

The letters of the Corresponding Society of the 17th of
 May, and 25th of July, 1793, and of the Norwich Societies
 of

of the 5th of July; and various passages in the proceedings of the Scotch Convention; and of those of the Society at Sheffield, will be found to contain additional proofs of what has been represented to be the real view and intention of presenting these petitions; but being subsequent to the time when these petitions were presented, they will be more particularly referred to in stating the transactions during the remainder of the year 1793, of which your Committee will proceed to take notice.

After the rejection of the petition in May, 1793,* and the determination of the House upon the subject of a change in the representation in Parliament, the correspondence inserted in the appendix will shew, that the union and concert between the two societies in London seem to have acquired additional strength. It is soon after distinctly stated, *that more effectual means than petitions must be adopted*;† and early in the autumn of 1793, the joint efforts of the two societies were directed to the formation of a Convention at Edinburgh, to which delegates were to be sent from London, and were invited from many of the country societies. Many of these societies actually sent delegates; and of those who did not several approved of the measure, and only objected to the time; while others, approving both of the time and of the measure, declined any share in it on account of their not having received a sufficiently early notice, or of their being unable to afford the expence with which it was necessarily attended.

The immediate foundations of these proceedings appear to have been a letter from the Corresponding Society, May 17th, 1793,‡ to the Friends of the People at Edinburgh, which, after expressing their desire *to unite, not only with each other, but with every other society throughout the nation*, proceeds; “Our petitions, you will have learned, have all been unsuccessful; our attention must now, therefore, be turned to some more effectual means; and from your society we would willingly learn them, and you, on your part, may depend upon our adopting the firmest measures, provided they are constitutional; and we hope the country will not be behind us.”

A letter from Skirving to Hardy, dated 25th May, 1793, is inserted in the Appendix, and contains many passages which

* Appendix C. 21, 23th June, 1793.

† Appendix C. 25, 28th Oct. 8th Nov. and 6th Dec. 1793.

‡ Appendix E. 17th May, 1793.

appear to be very material, but which will be more particularly referred to in the account of the correspondence of the Scotch Convention.

On the 10th of June, 1793, the Secretary of the Corresponding Society writes to the Secretary to the Constitutional Society at Birmingham: " We are entirely of your opinion
 " with regard to the necessity of a *general union*; and believe
 " as you do, that when once the country shall be so united,
 " the Neros of the day will be forced to yield to the just demand
 " of a long and fore oppressed people."

A letter from the Political Societies at Norwich, which appears to have been received by the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society, on the 25th of June, 1793, contains the following passage: " We received your friendly letter,
 " wherein you stated three propositions; first, a petition to
 " his Majesty; or to Parliament; or a National Convention.
 " I gave my opinion on the subject to the Constitutional Society at London, and found their ideas congenial to my own,
 " viz. an address to the King, futile; a petition to Parliament,
 " as a conquered people, tolerable; a National Convention;
 " if circumstances permitted, best of all."

And in a letter from the Secretary of the Corresponding Society, of the 25th of July, 1793, which appears to be an answer to the foregoing, it is said, " With regard to the questions themselves, however individuals may have made up
 " their minds on them, the public seemed most to *approve of the*
 " *mode of petitioning Parliament*; we accordingly acquiesced, and
 " sent in a petition, signed by nearly six thousand persons;
 " with this letter you will receive a copy of it, and of its fate
 " you are doubtless not unacquainted." After saying that their firmness is not confined to words, and that they will be foremost in asserting and recovering the lost liberties of the country, the letter recommends to the Norwich Society to form a junction with all others associated for the same purpose throughout the nation; and above all, *orderly and courageously to prepare themselves for the event, as they cannot expect to re-possess their rights without a struggle*; that it may be advantageous to humanity, that they should shew themselves at first *an indignant oppressed people, in whom is not yet entirely extinct the valour of their forefathers*.

In the month of October the resolutions were passed* in the Society for Constitutional Information, and the London Corresponding Society, relative to the Convention at Edinburgh, which have been already taken notice of.

The Society for Constitutional Information at Sheffield insert,† in a letter to the London Constitutional Society, the following extract from a letter, which was sent to the Convention at Edinburgh :

“ That it would have given this society the most heartfelt satisfaction to have had a delegation present at their approaching Convention, had we received timely notice of their wishes that it should be so; but it unfortunately happens, that all the gentlemen belonging to the Society, which it would choose for so important a business, are so previously engaged in affairs which they cannot possibly postpone in so short an interval, that it is not in our power to comply with their requisition on the present occasion.

“ This Society are also of opinion, that to give such a measure *its full effect*, it would be necessary that the other societies in South Britain should have communication with each other on the subject, and be able to ascertain that deputations would be sent from, at least, a majority of the societies in this part of the kingdom. And, to evince that we should be happy to unite our efforts with theirs in one firm and settled plan, we assure them, that if they think proper to fix *another meeting in January or February, or any other time which may be more agreeable*, and give us immediate notice thereof, and that they wish to see delegates from the several societies in this part of the kingdom, we will write to all those we are in correspondence with, to get such a *delegation* as may be truly respectable and important.”

In a letter from the Constitutional Society at Leeds, dated 5th November, 1793, to the Society for Constitutional Information in London, is the following paragraph:†

“ It is with great satisfaction we read your letter, and approve of your having elected your delegates to serve

* Appendix C.

† Appendix E. Sheffield, 1st Nov. 1793.

‡ Appendix E. Leeds, 5th Nov. 1793.

“ upon such a laudable undertaking; but, if you meant for
 “ the Leeds Society to adopt the same measures, shall be
 “ glad if you will answer this immediately; as we are not
 “ acquainted with the Time of their sitting, we fear our
 “ delegates will be too late.”

A letter from the Society of Birmingham to the London Constitutional Society* states, that they had received a letter from the Constitutional Society, which had obtained the approbation of every member present, and that they would at all times concur with the Constitutional Society in any measure that may have a tendency to hasten the return of departed liberty; that the object of the mission of delegates to the *Scotch Convention* is a measure upon which depends the regeneration of Britain from a state of slavery to a state of freedom and happiness; and that the Society at Birmingham have only to regret, that, at present, their ability will not allow them to co-operate with the Constitutional Society, by sending a delegate to the Convention at Edinburgh; and this they state to be one of the calamities of the war.

The Society at Coventry transmit to the London Constitutional Society, the copy of a resolution of the 28th October, 1793,† relative to the election of delegates, communicating their approbation of a measure which they conceive peculiarly calculated to accelerate the acquisition of the object proposed.

THE PROCEEDINGS of the Convention, which assembled at Edinburgh in the close of 1793, appear to your Committee to have been of such importance, and to throw so much light upon the subject of this part of the Report, that it has been thought necessary to give a connected account of them in this place, with references to extracts from the minutes of that Assembly inserted in the Appendix; and, in order to render this account more complete, it may be necessary shortly to recur to the proceedings of two other meetings which had taken place at Edinburgh at an earlier period.‡

A number of persons, styling themselves a General Convention of Delegates from the Societies of the Friends of

* Appendix E. Birmingham, 6th Nov. 1793.

† Appendix E. Coventry, 19th Nov. 1793.

‡ Appendix F.

the People throughout Scotland, appear, from the papers laid before the Committee, to have assembled at Edinburgh on the 11th of December, 1792, for the purpose, as they alledged, of concerting measures for obtaining a redress of grievances, and for restoring the freedom of election, and an equal representation of the people in Parliament.—This meeting was composed of a number of persons assembled from different parts of Scotland, and delegated by the various clubs and societies which had lately been established in that country under the name of The Friends of the People.—They amounted to about 170, amongst whom were some persons of a higher situation and rank in life, most of whom, however, afterwards discontinued their attendance.—Skirving, since convicted and transported by sentence of the Court of Justiciary, acted as their secretary, and continued uniformly to act in that capacity.

After sitting a few days, this Convention appears to have adjourned to the end of April, 1793, when they again assembled, though not in such numbers as before, Skirving still officiating as their secretary, and corresponding with all the Societies in Scotland, and several in England, on the subject of a reform in Parliament. This Convention separated in four days, and appointed their next meeting to take place at Edinburgh on the 29th of October following.

About the time when the first convention separated, in April, 1793, a correspondence seems to have commenced between Skirving (the Secretary) and various societies in England; and the system of uniting all these societies in Great Britain and Ireland, in common measures, appears to have been regularly acted upon. From a variety of letters found in the possession of Skirving when apprehended at Edinburgh on the 5th December, 1793, it appears, that he corresponded, as secretary of the Scotch Convention, with the following societies:

The Society for Constitutional Information, Crown and Anchor Tavern, London;

The London Corresponding Society;

The Society of the Friends of the People, Free Masons Tavern, London;

The Sheffield Constitutional Society;

Leeds Constitutional Society;

Nottingham Society for promoting a Parliamentary Reform; and

A Society at Norwich.

The correspondence with the Sheffield Constitutional Society commences in April, 1793.

Three letters from their secretary were found in the possession of Skirving, to whom they are addressed.

The first of these, inclosing a copy of the petition then about to be presented to the House of Commons—The second, inclosing a set of resolutions against the war, which the secretary transmits, with a request that they should be adopted by all the societies in Great Britain—And the third, dated the 27th of May, after acknowledging the receipt of a letter of the 10th of that month from Skirving,* communicating to the Sheffield Society the proceedings of the Convention at Edinburgh, which separated in April, approves of its proceedings, and states an address made by their late president to the Sheffield Society, which, after complaining of the late rejection of the Sheffield petition in the House of Commons, declares, that a reform in Parliament can *never be brought about but by the powerful interposition of the great body of the people.*

The Society of Leeds begin their correspondence with Skirving, by a letter of the 29th of May, 1793,† by desiring *fraternal communication* with the Society of Edinburgh, requesting its assistance and instruction, and that though their numbers are few, not exceeding 200, they are men, and determined to instruct their neighbours in their common interest.

On the 18th May, 1793, the Friends of the People, Free Masons Tavern, London, passed a vote of thanks to the Convention which had taken place the beginning of that year, for their zeal and activity in the cause of parliamentary reform,‡ and recommended a continuance of the same spirit, industry, and temper, during the recess of Parliament. This vote appears to have been transmitted to Skirving in a letter from the secretary,§ which requests, that the vote of

* Vide Appendix F. No. 1.

† Vide Appendix F. No. 2.

‡ Vide Appendix F. No. 3.

§ 18th May, 1793. Vide Appendix F. No. 4.

thanks might be communicated to the various societies in Scotland.

On the 23d of July, the secretary of the Friends of the People wrote another letter to Skirving* (apparently in answer to a letter from him on the subject) in which are the following passages—" the plan of delegates would be
 " very improper in this country at present. A very small
 " part of it indeed would be active for reform. If such a
 " meeting is attempted, it will operate, like many rash steps
 " of some who wish well to the cause, much to its disadvantage."

Another letter, dated the 29th of October, from the secretary of the Friends of the People in London, addressed also to Skirving,† acknowledges the receipt of several copies of the trials of Muir and Palmer, which he says he will bind up with the trial of Paine, and recommends to the Scottish Convention to avoid the violence which has done mischief to the cause of reform in England.

The correspondence of the London Corresponding Society with Skirving, previous to May, 1793, does not appear; but a letter of the 17th of this Month, from the secretary to Skirving, which has been already referred to, solicits a renewal of correspondence, and more intimate co-operation.

To this an answer was returned by Skirving, dated 25th May, 1793, which has also been before referred to, and has the following remarkable passages:

" If we fought only the extirpation of one set of interested
 " men from the management of national affairs, that place
 " might be given to another set, *without affecting the vitals of*
 " *the system adverse to reform*, this might be easily accom-
 " plished; but to cut up wide and deep rooted prejudices, to
 " give effectual energy to the dictates of truth in favour of
 " public virtue and national prosperity, in opposition to self
 " and all its interested habits, and to withstand and over-awe
 " the final efforts of the powers of darkness, is the work of
 " the *whole*, and not of a *part*;—a work to which mankind,
 " till this awful period, were never adequate; because never,
 " *till now*, disposed to fraternize.

* 23d July, 1793. Vide Appendix F. No. 5.

† 29th Oct. 1793. Vide Appendix F. No. 6.

“ Let us begin in earnest to make up our minds relative to
 “ the extent of reform which we ought to seek, be prepared to
 “ justify it, and to controvert objections. Let us model the
 “ whole in the public mind. *Let us provide every stake and stay*
 “ of the tabernacle which we would erect ; so that when the
 “ tabernacles of oppression in the palaces of ambition are broken
 “ down, under the madness and folly of their supporters, we
 “ may then, without anarchy and all dangerous delay, erect at
 “ once our tabernacle of righteousness.

On the 5th of October the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society again writes to Skirving,* highly approving of the idea of a Convention, and expressing his belief that the London Corresponding Society will send delegates to it :
 “ Our freedom, as you justly observe, depends entirely on
 “ ourselves, and upon our availing ourselves of this opportunity,
 “ which once lost may not be so soon recovered.”

On the 8th of November,† he again writes to the delegates Margarot and Gerrald, then at Edinburgh, informing them of what had been doing in the society since their departure ; and requests to be favoured “ with the number of delegates in the
 “ Convention, and the number from England also, and how
 “ the civil and military power relishes your meeting.”

On the 29th of November,‡ he again writes to them, stating that the General Committee “ are highly pleased with the pro-
 “ posed union with our northern brethren ; and beg you will
 “ use every exertion in your power to establish that desirable
 “ union upon a firm and permanent basis. It gives us great
 “ pleasure and encouragement to hear that the spirit of liberty
 “ is so flourishing in the north ; and are happy to inform you
 “ that the same noble spirit is making a rapid progress in the
 “ south.”

The instructions from the Corresponding Society to Margarot and Gerrald, dated the 24th of October, 1793, signed by their chairman and secretary, were also found in the possession of Skirving. They consist of nine different articles. By article 1st, the delegate is instructed, that “ he shall on no account
 “ depart from the original object and principles of this

* Vide Appendix E. 5th October, 1793.

† 8th Nov. 1793. Vide Appendix F. No. 7.

‡ 29th Nov. 1793.

“ society, namely, the obtaining annual parliaments, and
 “ universal suffrage, by rational and lawful means :

“ 2d. To support the opinion that representatives in Par-
 “ liament ought to be paid by their constituents.

“ 7th. That it is the duty of the people to resist any act of
 “ Parliament repugnant to the original principles of the con-
 “ stitution, as would be every attempt to prohibit associations
 “ for the purpose of reform.”

The instructions by the Society for Constitutional Informa-
 tion to their delegates were also found in the possession of Skir-
 ving ; the purport of which have been already stated in the
 former Report of the Committee.

There was likewise found in the possession of Skirving,* a
 letter from the secretary of the Leeds Constitutional Society,
 addressed “ to the members of the Scotch Convention,”† and
 which is inserted at full length in the appendix.

From the papers produced to the Committee it appears, that
 this Convention did accordingly assemble at Edinburgh on the
 28th of October last, to the number of about 150 persons ;
 and after sitting four days, in the hope of being joined by the
 delegates from England, they separated, in the apprehension that
 the English delegates did not mean to attend. Two days after-
 wards Margarot and Gerrald, with two other persons, one of
 them a delegate from the London Society for Constitutional
 Information, and the other a delegate from Sheffield, arrived
 in Edinburgh. Skirving immediately called together a new
 Convention, to meet upon the 19th of November : and in an
 advertisement inserted in the newspaper, called the Edinburgh
 Gazetteer,‡ and by hand bills, strongly urged the necessity
 of the delegates throughout Scotland attending to this meeting.

About the 4th or 5th of November, Messrs. Hamilton
 Rowan, and Butler, members of the society of United Irish-
 men of Dublin, arrived at Edinburgh from Ireland, though
 with no immediate commission on this business ; but during the
 week they remained in that place, they, with the English de-
 legates, attended the meeting of the General Committee of the
 Convention, in which it was agreed to receive these two gen-

* 18th Nov. 1793. † Appendix F. No. 3.

‡ Appendix F. No. 9.

them as delegates for the Society of United Irishmen. Mr. Hamilton Rowan appears to have acknowledged, by voluntary declaration before the sheriff of Edinburgh, that he had been solicited by letter from Scotland, on the subject of sending delegates from the Society of United Irishmen, to attend the Scotch Convention; but he declined mentioning the names of the person or persons who had so corresponded with him.

This Convention accordingly met on the 19th of November, to the number of about one hundred and sixty, and rather a greater proportion of country delegates than before. Rowan and Butler were by this time returned to Ireland; but the English delegates remained, and regularly attended the Convention as long as it continued to meet.

During the three first days the Convention appears, from its minutes, to have chiefly employed itself on matters of form; but having on the 22d November, 1793, changed its title to that of “the British Convention of Delegates of the People, associated to obtain universal suffrage and annual Parliaments,” they, in almost every particular, assumed the stile and mode of proceeding adopted by the National Convention of France. They divided themselves into sections, committees of organization, instructions, finance, and secrecy; denominated their meetings sittings; granted honours of sittings; made honourable mention in their minutes of patriotic donations; entered their minutes as made in the first year of the British Convention; instituted primary societies; provincial assemblies and departments; received from their sections a variety of motions and reports—some of which have the words “Vive la Convention” prefixed to them, and end with “ça ira”—and some “dated *First year of the British Convention, one and indivisible.*”

Having at last, on the 28th of November, with peculiar solemnity, passed a resolution, which necessarily attracted the attention of the law officers of the crown, the ringleaders, with all their papers, were seized, early on the morning of the 5th of December, and carried before the proper magistrate for examination. The resolution alluded to, and which appears from the minutes (extracts from which are stated in the appendix) to have been the subject of frequent and deliberate consideration, was deemed by the Convention as not expedient to be inserted immediately in its proper place. The insertion of it appears to have been postponed till the close of the Convention, and a blank was left for that purpose in the minutes. The
motion,

motion, with the resolutions founded thereon, was discovered amongst the papers of the delegate from the Society for Constitutional Information in London, and is of the following tenor :

“ Resolved, that the following declaration and resolutions be inserted at the end of our minutes ; viz.

“ That this Convention, considering the calamitous consequences of any act of the legislature which may tend to deprive the whole or any part of the people of their undoubted right to meet, either by themselves or by delegation, to discuss any matter relative to their common interest, whether of a public or private nature, and holding the same to be totally inconsistent with the first principles and safety of society, and also subversive of our known and acknowledged constitutional liberties, do hereby declare, before God and the world, that we shall follow the wholesome example of former times, by paying no regard to any act which shall militate against the constitution of our country, and shall continue to assemble and consider of the best means by which we can accomplish a real representation of the people, and annual election, until compelled to desist by superior force.

“ And we do resolve, That the first notice given for the introduction of a Convention Bill, or any bill of a similar tendency to that passed in Ireland in the last session of their Parliament.

“ Or any bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, or the act for preventing wrongous imprisonment, and against undue delays in trial in North Britain ;

“ Or in case of an invasion ; or the admission of any foreign troops whatsoever into Great Britain or Ireland ;

“ All or any one of these calamitous circumstances, shall be a signal to the several delegates to repair to such place as the Secret Committee of this Convention shall appoint ; and the first seven members shall have power to declare the *sittings permanent*, shall constitute a Convention, and twenty-one proceed to business ;

“ The Convention doth therefore resolve, that each delegate, immediately on his return home, do convene his constituents, and explain to them the necessity of electing a delegate or delegates, and of establishing a

“ fund, without delay, against any of these emergencies, for
 “ his or their expence; and that they do instruct the said
 “ delegate or delegates to hold themselves in readiness at
 “ one hour’s warning.”

These resolutions appear, from the minutes, to have been immediately followed up by the appointment of a secret committee, whose powers and mode of proceeding are precisely and distinctly marked out in the minutes of the Convention. It is proper farther to state, that on the 4th of December, the day preceding the arrest of the ringleaders, when they probably had either received information, or had suspected from their own conduct that measures were to be taken against them, the Convention, on the motion of Margat, unanimously resolved,

“ That the moment of any illegal dispersion of the Bri-
 “ tish Convention shall be considered as a summons to the de-
 “ legates to repair to the place of meeting appointed for the
 “ Convention of Emergency by the secret committee; and
 “ and that the secret committee be instructed, without delay,
 “ to proceed to fix the place of meeting.”

Upon the evening of the 5th of December, the Convention met, notwithstanding the arrest of their leading members on the morning of that day; and proceeded instantly to declare themselves permanent, and to meet in spite of the magistrates; but were prevented from proceeding further by the unexpected appearance of the magistrates, to whose authority they refused to submit, until the provost of the city seized the Sheffield delegate, their president, and compelled him to leave the chair. They again met on the evening of the 6th of December, in a house in the suburbs of the city, and were proceeding with the same violence as on the preceding evening, when the sheriff of the county interrupted and dispersed them. Since this period no public meeting has been held; but they have continued to meet privately and in different societies, and appear still to carry on a secret correspondence with various parts of England and Scotland. An abstract of the minutes of this Convention,* and of the most material motions and proceedings held amongst these persons, and three letters to the Secretary of the Corresponding Society, are subjoined in the Appendix to this Report.

* Appendix F. No. 10, 11, 12 and 13.

SUBSEQUENT to the dispersion of the Scotch Convention, the plan for calling another convention in England became the immediate object of the two societies in London. An account of their proceedings for this purpose has already been laid before the House in the former Report; but in order to give a more connected view of the whole subject, your Committee have inserted, in order of time, in the Appendix, the same proceedings to which they have already referred. Your Committee having observed, that the variation between the entry on the books of the Society for Constitutional Information, of the 11th of April 1794, and the entry of the Report received the same day, from the joint committee of the two societies, is likely to be relied on, as tending to shew, that the Society for Constitutional Information did not concur with their committee in the design of assembling a pretended general convention of the people, have inserted at full length in the Appendix, all that appears in the books of the Constitutional Society on that subject.* They have also thought it right to insert the account given of this transaction, in the examination of Mr. Thompson, a member of this House, to which they refer.†

In pursuance of the plan which they have adopted, the Committee have next inserted such correspondence and proceedings of the societies in the country, as have passed since the dispersion of the convention at Edinburgh, with relation to the measures to be taken in consequence of that event, and to their concurrence in the design, formed in London, for assembling another convention in England.

At a general meeting of delegates held at Norwich, it was unanimously resolved, that one or more delegates shall be sent to the next general convention, as soon as called for by their London correspondents.‡

In a letter § to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society from the Norwich Societies, they desire to know whether the Friends of the People consent to a convention,

* Appendix C. 6th Dec. 1793. 10th, 24th, Jan. 21st, 28th Mar. 4th 11th April, and 9th May, 1794.

† Examination of Mr. Thompson, Appendix G.

‡ Appendix H. Norwich, 24th Feb. 1794.

§ Appendix H. 29th April, 1794.

and whether they will take an active part.—“ Many of our friends are fully convinced of the necessity, legality, and rationality of a convention; but *quere* whether the time be expedient ?”

Some persons, who describe themselves as friends to a radical reform, write from Newcastle upon Tyne * to the Secretary of the Corresponding Society, that they dare assert the natural and unalienable rights of man, and have formed themselves into societies, which meet weekly, admitting none but *known friends*, and have assumed no name but that of newspaper companies.—*They were in great spirits while the British Convention continued to act*; but after their suppression a damp was cast on the whole—Subscriptions were ready to be sent off the very night they were suppressed.—They wish to copy the example of the London Corresponding Society, and to know their views and intentions as soon as convenient; and desiring to be favoured with the correspondence of that Society—they conclude by expressing a hope, “ that the hydra of tyranny and imposition may soon fall under the guillotine of truth and reason.” The Corresponding Society return an answer, in which they exhort the society at Newcastle to be assured that the glorious reign of *liberty and equality* will, ere long, be established, and *modern governments*, with every appendage of *wickedness and corruption*, will flee from their genial influence.—They complain of the rapid advances of despotism in Great Britain, and express their readiness cordially to *unite with every society* in the three kingdoms, who have for their object a full and effectual representation of the people; they therefore have deputed six of their members to meet six members of the Society for Constitutional Information, to form a committee of correspondence and co-operation.—“ This committee meets regularly twice a week, and any member delegated by your society will meet with every information required. We inclose you a few of our resolutions, entered into at our general meeting on the 14th of April, which will be sufficiently explanatory of our sentiments and views. We heartily concur with you in wishing, that the hydra of tyranny and imposition may soon fall under the guillotine of truth and reason.”

* Appendix H. Newcastle upon Tyne, 1st May, 1794.

* A letter * to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society, from the Secretary of the Constitutional Society at Sheffield, gives an account of a meeting at Halifax. The friends of peace and reform at Halifax held a general public meeting in the open air, on April 21st, 1794, at which were many friends from Leeds, Wakefield, Huddersfield, Bradford, and the adjacent neighbourhood.—The friends of freedom, after the meeting, agreed to hold a general meeting of delegates, in order to consider of the *measures to be adopted by them preparatory to a general convention*.—The people of Halifax were advised by the society at Sheffield, to *defer the meeting of delegates until further information from the London Corresponding Society on that subject*; and for that reason application was made to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society, requesting as early intelligence as possible on that important business.

The society † at Bristol applaud the resolution of the London Corresponding Society for *forming another general convention*, and state, that their increasing numbers give them every reasonable hope of soon being able more effectually to co-operate with that society—they desire a sketch of the plan respecting the general convention. In the answer of the London Corresponding Society it is stated, that a printed circular letter from them has been determined upon, of which the society at Bristol may expect a copy in a few days.—This refers to the *circular letter for calling a convention*, inserted by your committee in their former Report.

Your Committee have thought it right in this place to call the attention of the House to the proceedings of a meeting held at Sheffield on the 7th of April, 1794, which form a very material part of these transactions; although it does not appear, that at that meeting any resolution was passed expressing an intention to send delegates to the intended convention.

These proceedings consist of an address to the King; an address to the nation; certain resolutions; and speeches (printed together with them, and) delivered on the same day by a person calling himself Henry Yorke.—The title is as follows:

* Appendix H. Halifax, 11th May, 1794.

† Appendix H. Bristol, 4th April, 1794.

“ Proceedings of the public meeting held at Sheffield in the open air, on the 7th of April, 1794; and also, an Address to the British Nation, being An Exposition of the Motives which have determined the People of Sheffield to petition the House of Commons no more on the subject of Parliamentary Reform.”

In the course of these proceedings it was moved, “ That a *petition* be presented to the House of Commons for a reform in the representation of the people in Parliament:” but so marked was the disapprobation given by the whole meeting to this measure, that not one single person *seconded* the motion, but a most profound silence, interrupted only by a few murmurs, was observed.

An account is afterwards given of one of Yorke’s speeches, in which, after speaking of general history, there is the following passage :

“ It must be granted that this experience is important, because it teaches the suffering nations of the present day in what manner to prepare *their combustible ingredients*, and humanists in what manner *enkindle* them, so as to produce with effect that *grand political explosion*, which at the same time that it buries despotism, already convulsive and agonizing, in ruins, may raise up the people to the dignity and sublime grandeur of freedom.

“ When such a revolution of sentiment shall have dispersed the mists of prejudice ; when, by the incessant thunderings from the press, the meanest cottager of our country shall be enlightened, and the sun of reason shall shine in its fullest meridian over us, then *the commanding voice of the whole people shall recommend the five hundred and fifty-eight gentlemen in St. Stephen’s Chapel to go about their business.*”

The resolutions adopted at the meeting were ;

“ 1st. That the people being the true and only source of government, the freedom of speaking and writing upon any subject cannot be denied to the members of a free government, without offering the grossest insult to the majesty of the people.”

“ 2d. That therefore the condemnation of Citizens Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerrald, to transportation, for

“ for exposing the corruptions of the British Government,
 “ was an act better suited to the maxims of a despotic than a
 “ free government.

“ 3d. That the address which has now been read be pre-
 “ sented to the King, in behalf of the above persecuted pa-
 “ triots.

“ 4th. That in every country where the people have no share
 “ in their government, *taxation is tyranny*.

“ 5th. That therefore a government is tyrannical, or free,
 “ in proportion as the people are equally or unequally repre-
 “ sented.

“ 6th. Convinced of this truth, it is the opinion of this meeting
 “ that the people ought to demand as a *right*, and not petition
 “ as a *favour*, for universal representation.

“ 7th. That therefore we will petition the House of Commons
 “ no more on this subject.”

And lastly, (after agreeing to a petition to the King, re-
 specting negro slavery, and passing several resolutions on that
 subject) “ That the committee of the Sheffield Constitutional
 “ Society be desired to see that the above resolutions be *carried*
 “ *into effect*; and that they prepare an address to the British
 “ Nation, explanatory of the motives which have induced this
 “ meeting to adopt the resolution of no more petitioning the
 “ House of Commons on the subject of reform.”

The following passages are extracted from this address.

“ Friends and Countrymen,

“ We have this day decided, with the exception of only
 “ one dissentient voice, that the House of Commons shall
 “ never again be petitioned by us on the subject of parlia-
 “ mentary reform.”

The address then recites the words of the petition of the 8th
 of April, 1793, [“ That the House of Commons is not, in
 “ the just sense of the words, what your petitioners are from
 “ form obliged to term it, viz. the Commons of Great Bri-
 “ tain in Parliament assembled;”] and then proceeds, in dif-
 ferent passages, as follows:

“ Our petition was received with the utmost indignation
 “ by the House of Commons, which was no more than we
 “ expected.—

“ And although our petition was disdainfully rejected, be-
 “ cause not couched in language sufficiently polite and re-
 “ spectful for the *five hundred and fifty-eight gentlemen* who sit
 “ at

“ at the House of Commons ; yet, believe us, Fellow Ci-
 “ tizens, we are still of opinion, that the matter it contain-
 “ ed was not only just and proper, but we think that even the
 “ language which gave so much offence to the *honourable gen-*
 “ *tlemen, was much too polite and too moderate for us.* For if the
 “ House of Commons were the real representatives of the peo-
 “ ple, we certainly had a right to *dictate, and not to petition,*
 “ because they could be considered in no other light than as the
 “ organs of the public will ; and if they refused to obey that
 “ will, they would be usurpers, and not representatives.—

“ However the petition, such as it was, being termed dis-
 “ respectful, was thrown out by a majority of 79, there being
 “ 29 only who voted for its being received, and 108 who voted
 “ against it.—

“ Such imperious treatment rather gives *warning* than strikes
 “ *terror.*

“ We said to the House of Commons, we are wronged and
 “ aggrieved : *Will you right us, and redress our grievances, or*
 “ *will you not ? If you will, we shall be satisfied ; if you will*
 “ *not, we shall seek redress some other way.* This is the sole
 “ question with us ; and we put it, as we thought, in a most be-
 “ coming stile to the House of Commons. But our petition being
 “ scouted, we shall trouble them no more with our coarse and un-
 “ mannerly language.” “ It will be our duty to proceed, as we
 “ have uniformly done hitherto, in enlightening the public
 “ mind ; and *when a complete revolution of sentiment shall take*
 “ *place (as will shortly be the case) in our country, we shall*
 “ *open our mouths in that key we think most agreeable to our-*
 “ *selves.*” “ *And our voice, together with that of our disfran-*
 “ *chised countrymen, will resemble, perhaps, the thunderings from*
 “ *Mount Sinai !*”—

“ *Those who have a right to speak in a dictatorial tone, dis-*
 “ *grace themselves by petitioning.*”—

“ These essential principles are both easy and comprehen-
 “ sive. On these we build our right to representation, and re-
 “ nounce the idea of future petitions. By these maxims, we
 “ find that every Englishman is free ; and that in the *election of*
 “ *a supreme magistrate, or in the delegation of legislative powers,*
 “ he concedes his actions to a certain superintendence, for the
 “ express purpose of preventing liberty from vaulting over its
 “ limits, and introducing a system of universal violence, injury,
 “ or licentiousness. And although either of *these two delegated*
 “ *powers* be sufficient to keep any individual to his duty, or to
 “ controul every association in the community, yet they are
 “ *always inferior to the force which the whole society might exert,*

“ and

“ and are amenable to that society, *either in an assembly of the nation, or in a deputation formed for that purpose.*—

“ *Acts of Parliament, unless sanctioned by the approving voice of the whole community, or their representatives, are nothing less than arbitrary edicts under different names, and bear a strong resemblance to the rescripts of the emperors, or the decretals of the Vatican.*

“ What is the constitution to us, if we are nothing to it ? And what is any government but tyranny, in which the people have no share ? The constitution of Britain, indeed, is highly extolled, as the greatest effort of human wisdom ; so is the constitution of Turkey at Constantinople : but these are prejudices ; and the long tyranny of prejudice *is verging to a speedy termination.*—

“ Yes, Countrymen, we demand equality of rights, in which is included equality of representation ; without which terror is law, and the obligations of justice are weakened, because unsanctioned by the sacred voice of the people. We are not speaking of that visionary equality of property, the practical assertion of which would desolate the world, and plunge it into the darkest and wildest barbarism ; but that equality we claim is to make the slave a man, the man a citizen, and the citizen an integral part of the state ; *to make him a joint sovereign, and not a subject.*”

The reason which induced the meeting at Sheffield to omit any resolutions upon the subject of the intended convention, have been distinctly stated, by two persons who had been secretaries to the Constitutional Society in that town.

From their examination it appears, that a number of printed circular letters had been received at Sheffield from the Secretary to the London Corresponding Society, relative to a convention, and that the Sheffield Society objected to the calling it at this time, but had no objection to the measure itself ; that it was their opinion that the British Convention at Edinburgh ought to have secured the confidence of the people by a public address to the nation, before they had ventured to sit as a permanent body ; and that the address from Sheffield to the nation, containing a recommendation that no more petitions should be presented to parliament, was intended to prepare the people for a convention.

While these proceedings were taking place in different parts of England, with a view to a general convention, it appears

from the information contained in the letters from the Secretary of State, which have been already referred to, that measures of a similar tendency were carrying on with great activity, and to a great extent, in Scotland. The appointment of delegates to attend a convention to be assembled at some place in England at an early period, seems to have been very generally recommended by the committee at Edinburgh.

The naming the place was for the present omitted, but it was promised to be shortly announced through the secret committee, in the same manner as appears from the circular letter of the London Corresponding Society (inserted in the former Report) to have been intended in this part of the kingdom ; and the invitation to appoint delegates appears to have been circulated by the same emissaries who were employed by the committee at Edinburgh for the purpose of promoting the plan of arming those with whom they were in correspondence.

FROM a review of these proceedings, it indisputably appears that the immediate and ostensible object professed to be aimed at by the measures which have been related (if stated within the narrowest limits) was that of effecting no less fundamental a change in the frame of the House of Commons, than the introduction of universal suffrage in the election of it, and rendering the period of the election annual ; that through the whole course of the correspondence which has been carried on, and the concert which has been formed by different societies for this purpose, no idea has for a long time been pointed at, of obtaining this change by *any application to parliament* : that on the contrary, any such idea has been specifically and pointedly disclaimed, recently by the formal, and in some instances public, resolutions of the societies in London, and many of those in the country, and repeatedly, and from an early period, in the private correspondence, either of the societies, or of their leading members. It has been expressly laid down, that more effectual means than petitions must be tried. The express object stated in the resolutions for calling the proposed general convention of the people, or general meeting of the friends of liberty (under whichever of those names it is to be described) was to consider of the means of obtaining a full and equal representation, not of the thing to be obtained, but of the *means* of obtaining it, and this subsequent to the declarations last mentioned, that more effectual means than petitions must be tried. These more effectual *means* could, in the very nature of the

thing, consist of but one of two possible alternatives, either introducing this change in the frame of one branch of the legislature, by some other authority than that of the legislature itself, or bringing that legislature, either by force or intimidation, against its will, to lend its authority to that purpose.

Accordingly, the mildest terms in which, for a long time, the parties to this measure have described the mode by which they expected to attain their ends, have pointed at so extending and diffusing these societies, and establishing such an union and concert among them, as might spread their principles and opinions through every part of the country, and produce a declaration of the collective sense of the people, in such a manner, as to overcome all resistance,

But on many other occasions, and more openly of late, the language adopted has pointed more distinctly at the use of open force ; at the specific object of actually assembling a pretended national convention ; at the necessity of preparing *courageously* for the STRUGGLE, which they must expect before those who were adverse to their measures would yield to them ; and at obtaining the redress which they profess to seek, not from parliament, or from the executive government, but FROM THEMSELVES, and from THEIR OWN STRENGTH AND VALOUR, from their own laws, and not from the laws of those whom they term their plunderers, enemies, and oppressors : and when the language to this effect, repeatedly and deliberately used on so many occasions, and in so many quarters, is combined with the means lately employed for providing an armed force, and with the other projects of violence and open attack on different branches of the existing authority, which have appeared to be in the contemplation of some of the parties in these measures, it is impossible not to conclude, that it was by such means, by their own strength and numbers, by open force, defying and either overawing or superseding the authority of the legislature, that (in the extravagance of their imagination) they had formed the hope of accomplishing their daring and desperate designs.

But, extravagant and enormous as this project is, even on this statement, it appears to your Committee to be by no means confined even within these limits. The attempt to obtain a change in one branch of the legislature by force or terror, against the will of the whole, does indeed of itself include, if successful, at least a temporary suspension of all the existing powers of

government, and could hardly be supposed to stop short of an entire destruction of the constitution. But from the whole tenor of the system which has been acted upon, it is apparent that this was not merely the possible or probable consequence of such an attempt, but that the principles on which it was founded, and the mode by which it was intended to be executed, obviously and necessarily tended to such a result. The principles on which the supposed right of universal suffrage was founded were not such as led merely to the single act of altering to that extent the frame of the House of Commons, and afterwards leaving the House of Commons, thus modelled, in possession, together with the Crown and the House of Lords, of their former legislative authority, or the Crown in possession of its former executive power ; but, while they led to an alteration in the frame of the House of Commons, they equally led, if carried to their natural extent, to the extinction and destruction of the other two branches of the legislature.

A proposition so extravagant may at first be difficult to be credited ; but it appears to the Committee to be distinctly proved, from an examination of the nature of the principles themselves ; from a consideration of the system as actually carried into effect in France, and proposed as a model by those who were the chief actors in these proceedings in this country ; and, by repeated declarations or acts, which either directly, or by necessary inference, point at the destruction of hereditary monarchy, hereditary nobility, and every distinction of orders and ranks in society.

YOUR COMMITTEE have stated to the House in their former Report, that subsequent to the steps taken for the apprehension of the persons suspected of being concerned in the design which has been the subject of this Report, strong indications had appeared of a disposition to concert the means of resisting such measures as might be adopted for preventing the accomplishment of the design itself, or for bringing the authors or abettors of it to punishment.

It appears to your Committee, that immediately after the apprehension of several of the leading members of the London Corresponding Society, a committee was appointed, under the title of a committee of emergency, for the express purpose of counteracting the steps which had been taken by the executive government to check the further progress of the system which
has

has been detailed in this Report. It also appears, that it has been made matter of deliberation, in the divisions of the London Corresponding Society, whether in the present exigency they should proceed to address the King, to petition Parliament, or to make an appeal to the nation at large : the latter proposition was adopted ; and, in consequence of that decision, a paper has been printed and published under the name of the London Corresponding Society, and which your Committee has every reason to believe to be authentic : this paper contains the following passages ; viz. “ That we intended to call a convention “ is a truth, which needed neither general warrants, armed “ messengers, or secret committees to discover, since it was “ accompanied by a resolution, to make that intention known, “ by 200,000 printed copies of that day’s proceedings. But the “ purport ascribed to that convention, viz. the assuming *legislative power*, is a groundless falsehood :—the sole intent was “ to devise means of attaining a complete representative body, “ on the principles of universal suffrage, equal personal representation, and annual election ; and *whenever, or however*, “ such a body can be obtained, it will not be in the power of “ all the placemen and pensioners in *St. Stephen’s Chapel to “ dispute its legislative authority*. We are aware that in these “ times of *constitutional bigotry*, the last sentence may sound “ unpleasantly to many, who do not deserve to be considered as “ enemies to liberty : we therefore wish it to be clearly understood, that we speak of a representative body of *the whole “ nation, and not of any particular part or description of men ;—* “ and as the divine right of kings is not at this time directly asserted (at least in this country) by any but the most extremely ignorant, we think it ought to follow, as a natural consequence, “ that *the people are the only legitimate source of authority* ; and “ it appears to us, that the vain attempt to draw a medium between these opinions has produced endless absurdities and “ contradictions, to the disgrace of our records and law books. “ Among these the most conspicuous is called, *The Abdication “ of James the Second*, which phrase (coined for that purpose) “ may be either understood to mean *his expulsion by popular authority, or his voluntary resignation* ; if the former, it sanctions “ the doctrine which we have advanced ; if the latter, we scruple “ not to call it a national lie. To the honour of Scotland, “ their parliament explicitly declared him banished *by authority “ of the people*. But, Citizens, let us explain the truth :—the “ expulsion of James the Second, and the establishment of William the Third, though doubtless agreeable to the general “ wishes of the people, was not, *in point of form, an act of the “ people.*

“ *people*. It was the act of a number of persons, calling them-
 “ selves a convention, but not regularly authorized by *popular*
 “ *delegation*, and consequently *falling under the description of a*
 “ *faction*; and this not merely in *theory*, but in fact, for their
 “ unwillingness to acknowledge the *rightful power of the people*
 “ was the reason of their adopting the inexplicable phrase
 “ above-mentioned.

“ The providing arms is another charge, on which we wish
 “ to speak with caution; lest in asserting, which we do—that
 “ *it is totally false*—we should be understood to admit, that if
 “ it had been true, it would have proved criminality.

“ We freely acknowledge, that some of our members have
 “ *applied themselves to the knowledge of arms*; and, far from
 “ desiring to make a secret of this circumstance, we wish their
 “ example was *followed by the whole nation*. We then need not
 “ fear invasion, either from Frenchmen, Hessians, or Hano-
 “ verians: nor should we easily be alarmed by the mock disco-
 “ very of plots which never existed.

“ We are perfectly convinced of the propriety of our opi-
 “ nions *respecting the rights of the people to have arms, and to*
 “ *regulate their constitution*.

“ It may be expected that we should not conclude without
 “ exhorting the associated friends of freedom to an *active perse-*
 “ *verance in the object of their association*,—but, judging from
 “ the conduct of our own members, we are happy in declaring
 “ that we think no such exhortation necessary.”

From these passages it appears, that since the apprehension of
 their leading members, and the measures which have been lately
 taken in parliament on the subject of their designs, the London
 Corresponding Society have openly avowed their intention to
 call a convention, for the purpose of *devising means* to attain a
 complete representative body, on the principles of annual elec-
 tion and of universal suffrage, without any reference whatever
 to Parliament, and (as far as can be collected from their own
 interpretation of the phrases which they have used to describe
 the House of Commons) with the further intention of arro-
 gating to the body constituted according to the manner to be
 prescribed by such a convention, the whole legislative autho-
 rity of the nation.

It appears also that the London Corresponding Society admit
 that some of their members have applied themselves to the
 knowledge of arms; and although they deny having provided
 arms, they desire not to be understood as admitting that if it
 had

had been true it would have proved criminality ; and they assert the propriety of their opinion respecting the rights of the people to have arms, and to regulate their constitution.

And this open avowal of the design of calling a convention, and of the fact of having applied themselves to the use of arms, is accompanied with a declaration of their determined purpose to persevere, with activity, in the objects of their association ; —objects which have been already sufficiently explained to the House by reference to the acts of the society, and to the professed principles of its leading members.

IF the circumstances which have been stated in this Report appear to the House in the same view in which, on the most attentive consideration, they have appeared to your Committee, it is scarcely necessary to state any collateral matter in order to satisfy the House how much the peace, safety, and happiness of the country must have been affected by the farther progress of the measures which have been stated.

But if any thing were wanting to add to this impression, it would arise from the recollection, that the incitement to internal commotions in other countries is the most distinguishing feature, both of the declared principles and of the uniform practice of France under their present system, and that in the public acts of those exercising the powers of government in that country, an intention of invading these kingdoms, founded on the idea of receiving support and assistance within the country, has been openly avowed. The case does not, however, rest here.—It has come under the observation of your Committee, that recent measures have been actually taken by the ruling powers in France for endeavouring to ascertain, both in Great Britain and Ireland, the degree of co-operation and assistance which they might expect in any attempt of this nature.

This communication does not appear, from any evidence before the Committee, to have any immediate connection with the societies, whose proceedings have been the subject of this Report ; but the connection with their general objects is sufficiently evident, both from the nature of the thing, and from the particulars which have been stated in the course of the Report.

It is not immaterial to add, that in Ireland these communications appear to have been directly addressed to a person acting in concert with the societies here, one of their honorary members, and who has taken an active part in the course of the proceedings to which your Committee have referred.

YOUR COMMITTEE have, for obvious reasons, omitted to annex to their Report the evidence of particular witnesses, by whom the facts above stated are supported; and, for the same reasons, they have studiously forbore to mention the names of persons and places in all cases in which they could be omitted with a proper attention to the general object of their inquiry, and to the information which the House has a right to expect upon so important a subject.

Appendix

TO THE

SECOND REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY.

We respect and submit the principle which induces you, (though necessarily) has compelled you to take up arms (still to be left in remaining to defend your friends at home, and not to quit a country which holds

ought many of you may have experienced the exertions of such a

OWN CONSTANT separate you from your families and friends, and of the last instant. The will of your own cannot WITHOUT your

This truth has been hidden to entirely concealed from you, but it is

to take up arms, by any voluntary consent, which we ever

and to Avenge, to the end and to the last, and that no man can be

the great Truth, that the LAW ought to be the law to the Highway,

I now recede to say, that you are becoming daily more convinced of

are friendship and the true propriety in you.

ownself hearts, hearts which is impudently to your cause: they look for the

I think kind and noble is the temper—They are poor, but they have

you have been so long in the world, that you are becoming daily more convinced of

afflict, have been represented to you as your enemies—Believe not the

A P P E N D I X, &c.

Appendix A. (No. 1.)

PAPER distributed amongst the Fencibles.

Friends and Brethren,

IT is with the greatest pleasure that your Countrymen are informed, that such is your attachment and love to *them*, and to your Native Country, that you manfully and firmly resolve not to leave it upon any terms contrary to those upon which you were at first engaged. Your Countrymen love you, and their hearts would be as much wounded to part with *you*, as *your's* would be to be separated from *them*. They well know that they are safe under the protection of their *Fathers*, their *Sons*, their *Brothers* in *arms*, and they neither wish nor desire any other Defenders. They hope and believe that your hearts are filled with the same sentiments.

The great mass of the PEOPLE from amongst whom you have been enlisted, have been represented to you as your enemies,—Believe not the assertion. They have been taught to consider *you* as foes; but they do not fear finding friends amongst their brethren.

Their Cause and your's is the same:—They are poor, but they have honest hearts; hearts which sympathize in *your* cause: they look for the same friendship and the same sympathy in *you*.

They rejoice to hear, that you are becoming daily more convinced of the great Truth, that the LAW ought to be the same to the *Highlander* and to *Lowlander*, to the rich and to the *poor*, and that no man can be compelled to take up arms, by *any authority whatsoever*, unless *his own inclinations prompt him to do so*.

This truth has been hitherto carefully concealed from you, but it is not the less certain. The will of your *laird* cannot, WITHOUT your OWN CONSENT, separate you from your families and friends, although many of you may have experienced the exertions of such a power, however unjust, and however contrary to LAW.

We respect and admire that principle which induces you, (though necessity has compelled you to take up arms) still to persist in remaining to defend your friends at home, and not to quit a country which holds pledged so dear.

APPENDIX A. (No. 2.)

When YOU are gone, where is their defence?—they may be either left *without protection*, or may soon see their country overrun by FOREIGN TROOPS, such as in time past have already shed the blood of your ancestors without provocation and without remorse, and who would feel perhaps as little compunction in shedding *theirs*.

Prepared for every deed of horror, these foreign mercenaries may *violate the chastity* of your Wives, your Sisters, and your Daughters, and when *desire* is satiated, *cruelty* may resume its place in their hearts, as experience has too well and too fatally shewn, and Friends, Parents, Children, Brothers, may be involved in one common slaughter.

The cruel Massacre of GLENCOE cannot yet be forgotten; are there not amongst you, whose forefathers perished *there*?—Their hearts throbbing with kindness and hospitality were pierced with the daggers of their treacherous guests, and the feast prepared by the hand of unsuspecting friendship, was closed with a scene of blood!—Such is the return for kindness and hospitality!—Such the protection which your families have to expect!!!

How will they then look around in vain for *your* protecting care, when perhaps you are fighting at a distance in a foreign land?—But they hope you will not forsake them.—Stay, Oh stay, and defend your families and your friends!

FOR THAT PURPOSE ALONE YOU WERE ENLISTED.—They are ready to come forward for *you* in the vindication of *your Rights*.

Thousands join in the same sentiments with *you* and ardently wish for your continuance amongst them. The circumstances which might require you to quit your country *have not yet taken place*.—No Invasion has yet happened—you cannot be *compelled* to go—Leave not your country—Assert your independence—Your countrymen will look up to *you* as their *protectors* and *guardians*, and will in *their* turn lift up their arms to protect and assist *you*.—

DUNDEE, APRIL 12th, 1794.

Appendix A. (No. 2.)

To the Landholders of the County of Perth.

Gentlemen,

Observing an Advertisement in the Edinburgh Newspapers requiring you to meet here on the 11th Current to take into Consideration a Plan of the Executive Government for the Internal Defence of the Country, we, a Number of the Inhabitants of Perth and Neighbourhood, consisting of upwards of Three hundred effective Men, deeply impressed with the Dangers which threaten the Nation, and animated with that Patriotism which proclaims to the World that the Safety of the People is the supreme Law, make a voluntary Offer of our Services to assist in protecting the Liberties of the People from any Incroachments, either from hostile Invaders, or more dangerous internal Foes, pledging ourselves on the one Hand to resist every Attempt to invade private Property, and on the other to crush and subdue every unlawful Combination of the Rich against the Poor; and being sensible that the Protection of the People's Liberties is a Trust of such Importance that it ought to be committed to those

those only who are capable of discerning the eternal Laws of Justice, and of feeling and acting according to the Force of Principle, we pledge ourselves that none but true Men, answering to this Description, shall be allowed to enter our Band; because, independent of the palpable Absurdity of committing our Defence to Criminals, we disdain the mean Shift of crimping and sweeping prisons.

It is on the foregoing Principles that we offer our Services to the County, on the following Terms, as a Body of Infantry Troops:

First, We consider these Principles as the best Security for preserving Order, and as Military Law must be very disagreeable, and is wholly unnecessary to Men of our peaceful Habits of Life, we therefore require that every Offence shall be tried by a Jury chosen from among ourselves.

Second, As we are for the most Part settled in Business, or have Families of our own, we must therefore expressly stipulate, that unless an Invasion shall take place in a neighbouring Part of the Country, we shall not be carried out of the County without our own Consent, declared by a Council chosen by ourselves, and held for that Purpose.

Third, We require to have the sole Power of choosing our own Officers from among ourselves, and of cashiering, and placing them in the Ranks, at every Month's End, if necessary.

Fourth, We require that the County, or Government, shall furnish us with Arms and Military Stores, together with every other Equipment necessary for the Purposes of Defence.

On the other Hand, we engage to find Serjeants in our own Body, qualified to train and discipline the Men, and shall require no Pay, unless called out to actual Service.

This Plan we consider as greatly preferable to that of raising Troops of Cavalry as proposed in some Counties, for the following Reasons:

First, That the Horses being taken from the Purposes of Agriculture must be very hurtful to the Country.

Second, Cavalry are extremely expensive; and in Addition to the present enormous Burden of Foreign Troops, together with our own, will fall heavy on Government.

Third, They will require Six or Nine Months to train them; whereas we engage to be ready in Four Weeks from the Time we are embodied, for actual Service.

Fourth, Without an adequate Body of Infantry, Cavalry are wholly incapable to repel an Invasion, and are only fit for pursuing a flying Enemy, or running down an unarmed Multitude.

Fifth, We engage, when properly trained, to beat off double our own Number of the best Cavalry that can be brought against us.

We also promise to double or triple our Number, upon a Day's Notice being given, if thought necessary.

The Committee are instructed, by a General Meeting of the Volunteers, to adhere to their former Principles, which are exactly the same as presented to the General of the Landholders.

(Signed)

Robert Henderson, Shoemaker.

Matthew Calderwood, Ditto.

John Johnston, Weaver.

David Smith, Ditto.

James Haskinn, Ditto.

Robert Sands, Ditto.

Andrew Pitkethly, Shoemaker.

APPENDIX A. (No. 2.)

(COPY.)

At a General Meeting, 11th April 1794.

The Preses produced a Letter which had been handed to him, signed by Robert Henderson, Robert Sands, Matthew Calderwood, David Smith, Andrew Pitkethly, and Thomas Smith, relative to an Offer of their Services, and of others who had previously presented an unsigned Petition to the Meeting (but which had been withdrawn) for the internal Defence of the Country: Which Letter being read, the Meeting remit to the Committee appointed for carrying into Execution the Resolutions of this Meeting, relative to the raising of Two or more Troops of Fencible Cavalry for the internal Defence of the Country.

Copy Letter referred to in Minutes of 11th April 1794.

To the President of the Meeting of Landholders of the County of Perth, presently assembled in the Sheriff Court Room.

President,

We sent in a Number of Proposals into Court to be presented by Colonel Erskine, which we understand are thrown out because they have no Signatures affixed: We are deputed by these Persons, who offer their Services, and are ready to appear in open Court to give every Satisfaction respecting the Matter; we therefore request that you will bring forward the Proposals, and we shall be ready to wait on you when called upon. President, we are yours. (Signed) Robert Henderson, Robert Sands, Matthew Calderwood, David Smith, Andrew Pitkethly, Thomas Smith.

P. S. The Deputation is in Mr. Murray's, at the Back of the Jail. Half past Five o'Clock, P. M.

Minutes of Committee, 12th April 1794.

The Committee having examined the Letter which was referred to their Consideration by the General Meeting Yesterday, which Letter has a Reference to a previous Petition presented to the Meeting of Yesterday, but afterwards withdrawn, they find it impossible to deliberate on that Subject at present, neither having the original Petition, nor any Plan respecting the Mode of internal Defence pointed out by the Petitioners, before them; they therefore desire Mr. Paton to deliver a Copy of this Sixth Resolution of the Committee to the Petitioners, so as they may transmit their original Petition, and may communicate any Plan which they have to offer relative to the internal Defence of the Country, which will be paid due Attention to by the Committee at their next Meeting.

(COPY.)

Minutes of Committee, 25th April 1794.

The Committee again considered the Letter signed by Six Persons, and received the original Petition there referred to, with an Addition since made to it, and the Subscription of Seven Individuals adhibited thereto; and were informed by these Persons that the Resolutions contained in the original Petition were agreed to at a Meeting, called by means of a printed Hand Bill pasted up in the Streets of Perth, and held on the North

APPENDIX B. (NO. I.)

North Inch last Wednesday Evening; at which Meeting they were also informed that the same Persons resolved on presenting a Petition to His Majesty in Behalf of Muir, Gerald, and the other Persons who have lately been sentenced to be transported for the Crime of Sedition; the Committee are of Opinion that Zeal displayed by Individuals, in offering their Services to defend their Country against the unjust Aggression of the cruel and rapacious foreign Enemies we are now engaged in War with, is commendable in them as British Subjects, warmly attached to their King, and to our glorious and happy Constitution: But, after considering the Plan suggested, they are of Opinion that it is liable to such Objections that they cannot give it any Countenance or Support; but they beg to recommend to those Individuals now tendering their Services for the Purpose of repelling the meditated Attacks of the inhuman, ferocious, and irreligious Rulers of that unhappy and devoted Country, France, either to make an offer of their Services individually to the Officers of the Perthshire Fencible Cavalry, or, if they prefer being a Corps of Infantry, to enlist into some of the Regiments of Foot now raising. They also beg to inform the Individuals who have thus professed their Attachment to the County, that it will be expected they will use their best Endeavours, by avoiding all tumultuous Meetings, to preserve good Order in the Town of Perth and its Vicinity.

Appendix B. (No. 1.)

Sec. London Corresponding Society to Norwich Constitutional Society,

London, 17th Oct. 1793.

Fellow Citizens,

We have to acknowledge at once, your favours of the 3d September, and 14th instant. Multiplicity of business prevented my answering your first; but will now inform you that the Spirit shewn in it gave great Satisfaction to our Society at large. The Rejoicings for the Capture of Valenciennes were not confined to Norwich alone. The Ignorant every where else throughout the Nation betrayed their Imbecility on the Occasion. But the taking of a Town, the slaughtering of Thousands of Human Beings, the laying waste whole Provinces, or the enslaving a Nation (however great Evils they may be) can only retard for a small Space of Time the Progress of Truth and Reason:—Be not disheartened, therefore—pursue your Plan, instruct Mankind, and Constitutionally set your Faces against existing Abuses: Be assured that many are our Friends, *who only wait a favourable Opportunity to openly join us*, while our Enemies have much enfeebled themselves and their Cause by their arbitrary Exertions. Despotism is at its last Gasps—One or Two Campaigns more will terminate its Existence.

We are glad to see that you begin to make a proper Use of Delegation: Where Bodies of Men are too numerous to be convened easily on every Occasion, Delegation is the best, and indeed only Way to obtain the general opinion. Scotland, improving on the Idea, have not only summoned their own Delegates, but also invite those of every other Society to attend a kind of Convention, which is to be held at Edinburgh on the 26th Instant. The inclosed Paper, which I, previous to the communicating your Letter to our Committee (which will meet only To-morrow)

APPENDIX B. (NO. 3.)

make Haste to transmit to you, will shew you that your Society is included in the general Invitation to send Delegates to that Meeting—which we exhort you to do, if you possibly can.—I firmly believe our Society will not miss the Opportunity of doing the same.

We have just published a new Edition of *The Englishman's Rights, or A Dialogue between a Barrister and a Juryman*, being an excellent Work, published first by Sir John Hawles, Knight, Solicitor General to King William the Third. It is a Book that ought to be in the Possession of every one, as it contains the *Rights and Duties of a Juryman*.—Send us Word if you can vend a certain Number of them in your Neighbourhood—we sell them only Three Shillings per Dozen, but the Retail Price is Four Pence a-piece. I am most sincerely, my Fellow Citizens, and Brethren in a good Cause, your humble Servant.

Appendix B. (No. 2.)

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society to Norwich.

London, January 11, 1794.

Fellow Citizens,

I have just received a Letter from Citizen Margarot, at Edinburgh, with some of the Edinburgh Gazetteers, where you will see that Citizen Skirving is found guilty, and sentenced for Fourteen Years Transportation to Botany Bay. Margarot's Trial comes next; he meets it with great Firmness and Resolution. I have no Time to make my Comments on the Proceedings, but I think our Opponents are cutting their own Throats as fast as they can—Now is the Time for us to do something worthy of *Men*. The brave Defenders of Liberty South of the English Channel are performing Wonders, driving their Enemies before them like Chaff before the Whirlwind. Margarot tells me, that he has not Time to write to you just now, but he hopes to have Time very soon, when his Trial is over, and immured in a Prison. The London Corresponding Society is to have a General Meeting and an Anniversary Dinner, on Monday the 20th Instant at the Globe Tavern, Strand. I have sent you some of Margarot's and Skirving's Indictment, with Two Copies of a Pamphlet on Brewing—he is a Member of our Society, the Author; if you approve of it you may put it in Practice, and be a great Saving to many Families, also a Diminution of the Revenue, for every one brewing their own Beer pay no Duty for it. Excuse Haste. I still remain, &c.

(Signed) ———

Appendix B. (No. 3.)

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Margarot to the Norwich United Societies.

Spithead, the 10th of March 1794.

Worthy Friends, and Fellow Citizens,

Our Stay here being longer than was at first expected, I avail myself of that Delay to acknowledge the Receipt of Twenty Pounds from your Society, which have been delivered to me by Thomas Hardy, our Secretary,

APPENDIX C.

tary, to whom you had remitted them, and who has been down here purposely to see me, and make some Arrangements for the future, but whose Business has called him back to London before any Thing could be settled between us.—At first he seemed to think that the Money was meant by you to be divided among the Four who are now suffering together; but, on my acquainting him that those Gentlemen were infinitely better off than myself in that Respect, inasmuch that they are continually receiving private Presents, and are moreover supported by many Noblemen and rich Members of Parliament, these latter seeking only (I much fear) to make a Party Affair of it, that he gave the Money to my own Disposal. If, however, you meant otherwise, your Intention shall be complied with immediately on its being made known to me—So much for Pecuniary Affairs.—*This Morning 10 Ships of War have left Spithead for the Channel, and it is here reported that the British Fleet is out: Rumour, always magnifying Things, says there are 70 Sail of French at Sea; if so, there must be a Number of Transports among them, and a Descent may probably be the Consequence.—For God's Sake, my worthy Friends, do not relax in the Cause of Freedom—Continue as have begun—Consolidate your own Societies—Unite with others—Persevere, and make no Doubt but sooner or later your Endeavours will be crowned with Success.* I have also to thank you for the affectionate Address I received from you. Be assured that my utmost Ambition will ever be to deserve your Confidence and your Esteem. The Tide of Fortune, however strongly it may run against our Cause at present, may soon have a turn: The Eyes of Mankind will naturally open—when their Pockets empty, and their Blood spills, they will ask each other, for whom are we thus sacrificing ourselves, and murdering others? What Advantage results to us from all this Expenditure and Slaughter? And by interfering in the Government of another Country, do we not set other Nations an Example to interfere with our own Government, and to model it as they think proper? Should they do so, Popery and Despotism must be our Lot—May Gracious Providence avert it; may we rather all to a Man be determined to live free or die! In my Exile nothing would afflict me so much as to hear that my Country was enslaved, and that my Countrymen hugged their Chains. I trust however the National Spirit of Britons will prevent it. Adieu, my dear Friends; and ever remember

Your faithful

M. MARGAROT.

P. S.—This Day a mock Debate concerning our Sentence is to take place in P——.

Appendix C.

Extracts from the Book containing the Proceedings of the Constitutional Society.

AT a Meeting held at the Secretary's, Took's Court, Chancery Lane, Friday, 23d March, 1791.

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Society be given to Mr. Thomas Paine for his most masterly Book, intituled "The Rights of Man," in

M

which

APPENDIX C.

which not only the malevolent Sophistries of hireling Scribblers are detected and exposed to merited Ridicule, but many of the most important and beneficial political Truths are stated, so irresistibly convincing as to promise the Acceleration of that not very distant Period when usurping Borough Sellers, and profligate Borough Buyers, shall be deprived of what they impudently dare to call their Property—the Choice of the Representatives of the People.

The Constitutional Society cannot help expressing their Satisfaction that so valuable a Publication has proceeded from a Member of that Society; and they sincerely hope that the People of England will give that Attention to the Subjects discussed in Mr. Paine's Treatise, which their manifest Importance so justly deserve.

Resolved, That the foregoing Resolutions, and all future Proceedings of this Society, be regularly transmitted by the Secretary to all our corresponding Constitutional Societies in England, Scotland, and France.

Resolved, That the above Resolutions be published in the Papers.

At a Meeting, 1st April, 1791.

Resolved, That the Resolutions of this Society, recommending Paine's Book, "The Rights of Man," and published in several of the Papers, be re-published in the following; viz. General Evening, Morning Post, World, English Chronicle, Sherborne, Leeds, York, Bristol, Nottingham, and Birmingham.

At a Meeting, 22d July, 1791.

Resolved, That the Original and Translation of an Address communicated by the Reverend Doctor Towers, from the Society at Nantz, be entered on the Books of this Society.

The Translation is entered.

At a Meeting, 4th March, 1791.

Read the following Letter from the Revolution Society at Norwich to the London Society for Constitutional Information.

The Norwich Revolution Society wishes to open a Communication with you at this Time, when Corruption has acquired a Publicity in the Senate, which exacts from the Honour of the British Nation renewed Exertions for Parliamentary Reform. Without prejudging the probable Event of such an Application to the Legislature, this Society is willing to circulate the Information, and to co-operate in the Measures that may seem best adapted to further so desirable and so important an End. The Society is willing to hope the Redress of every existing Grievance at the Hands of a Government resulting from an extraordinary Convocation in 1688, of all who had, at any preceding Time, been elected Representatives of the People, assisted by the Hereditary Counsellors of the Nation, and a peculiar Deputation from the Metropolis; which National CONSTITUTING Assembly cashiered for Misconduct a King of the House of Stuart. The Opinions and Principles of this Society are best explained by an Appeal to their literary Representatives. To James Mackintosh, Author of *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, this Society offers the Tribute of its Approbation and Gratitude, for the Knowledge, the Eloquence, and Philosophical Spirit with which he has explained, defended, and commented on the Revolution of France. It hesitates to assent to this only of his Opinions, that "there are but Two Interests in Society,

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"ciety, those of the Rich and those of the Poor."—If so, what Chance have the latter?

Surely the Interests of all the Industrious, from the richest Merchant to the poorest Mechanic, are in every Community the same—to lessen the Numbers of the Unproductive, to whose Maintenance they contribute, and to do away such Institutions and Imposts as abridge the Means of Maintenance, by resisting the Demand for Labour, or by sharing its Reward: As the Means most conducive to this comprehensive End, the Norwich Revolution Society desires an equitable Representation of the People.

The Rights of Man, by Thomas Paine, and the Advice to the privileged Orders, by Joel Barlow, have also been read with Attention, and circulated with Avidity. They point out with Clearness most of the Abuses which have accumulated under the British Government; they attack with Energy most of the Prejudices which have tended to perpetuate them.

Internally our Society is thus organized:—Any Person proposed and seconded by a Member, is received, on paying an Admission Fine, and obliging himself to an Annual Contribution towards the Purchase of Books for the Use of the Society, and for Circulation among the confederated Clubs. The Members assemble Twice, Monthly. A Committee of Correspondence is periodically elected by Ballot, to select Books, and to conduct the other literary Business. A Committee of Twelve is periodically named by Acclamation, to attend severally the Meetings of the various confederated Clubs, which are invited in like Manner to depute a Member to the Monthly Meetings of this.

The Clubs are now Seven in Number, and more are expected to announce their Adherence. The Norwich Revolution Society, proposing to extend this Form of Combination, recommends for Admission into the London Society for Constitutional Information Twelve Persons.

Norwich, 26 April, 1792.

At a Meeting, 16th March, 1792.

The Chairman of the Society for Constitutional Information established at Manchester, having communicated to this Society their Resolutions of Thanks to Thomas Paine, for the Publication of his "Second Part of the Rights of Man; combining Principle and Practice."

Bull's Head Inn, Manchester, 13th March, 1792.

At a Meeting of the Manchester Constitutional Society held this Day, it was unanimously resolved,

That the Thanks of this Society are due to Mr. Thomas Paine, for the Publication of his "Second Part of the Rights of Man; combining Principle and Practice," a Work of the highest Importance to every Nation under Heaven, but particularly to this, as containing excellent and practicable Plans for an immediate and considerable Reduction of the Public Expenditure; for the Prevention of Wars; for the Extension of our Manufactures and Commerce; for the Education of the Young; for the comfortable Support of the Aged; for the better Maintenance of the Poor of every Description; and, finally, for lessening GREATLY, and WITHOUT DELAY, the enormous Load of Taxes under which this Country at present labours,

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That this Society congratulate their Country at large on the Influence which Mr. Paine's Publications appear to have had in procuring the Repeal of some oppressive Taxes in the present Session of Parliament; and they hope that this Adoption of a small Part of Mr. Paine's *Ideas will be followed by the most strenuous Exertions to accomplish a complete Reform in the present inadequate State of the Representation of the People*; and that the other great Plans of Public Benefit which Mr. Paine has so powerfully recommended, will be speedily carried into Effect.

Signed _____ President,
 _____ Secretary.

Ordered, That the Secretary return to the Chairman of the Society at Manchester the Thanks of this Society for his Communication; at the same Time assuring him that this Society does heartily concur in the above Resolution.

Resolved, That the above Resolutions be published in the Papers.

At a Meeting, 23d March, 1792.

Resolved, That the following be published in the Morning Chronicle, World, Post, Times, Argus, English Chronicle, and General Evening.

“ Society for Constitutional Information, London, March 23d, 1792.
 “ This Society having received the following and other Communications
 “ from Sheffield;” viz.

Sheffield.

Society for Constitutional Information, [14th March 1792.]

This Society, composed chiefly of the Manufacturers of Sheffield, began about Four Months ago, and is already increased to nearly TWO THOUSAND MEMBERS, and is daily increasing, exclusive of the adjacent Towns and Villages, who are forming themselves into similar Societies.

Considering, as we do, that the Want of Knowledge and Information in the general Mass of the People has exposed them to numberless Impositions and Abuses, the Exertions of this Society are directed to the Acquirement of useful Knowledge, and to spread the same as far as our Endeavours and Abilities can extend.

We declare that we have derived more true Knowledge from the Two Works of Mr. *Thomas Paine*, intituled “ Rights of Man,” Part the First and Second, than from any other Author or Subject. *The Practice as well as the Principle of Government is laid down in those Works, in a Manner so clear, and irresistibly convincing,* that this Society do hereby resolve to give their Thanks to Mr. Paine for his Two said Publications, intituled “ Rights of Man,” Part 1st and 2d. Also,

Resolved unanimously, That the Thanks of this Society be given to Mr. Paine, for the affectionate Concern he has shewn in his Second Work in Behalf of the Poor, the Infant, and the Aged; who, notwithstanding the Opulence which blesses other Parts of the Community, are, by the grievous Weight of Taxes, rendered the miserable Victims of Poverty and Wretchedness.

Resolved unanimously, That this Society, disdaining to be considered either of a Ministerial or Opposition Party (Names of which we are

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are tired, having been so often deceived by both) do ardently recommend it to all their Fellow Citizens, into whose Hands these Resolutions may come, to confer seriously and calmly with each other on the Subject alluded to, and to manifest to the World that the Spirit of true Liberty is a Spirit of Order; and that to obtain Justice it is consistent that we be just ourselves.

Resolved, unanimously, That these Resolutions be printed, and that a Copy thereof be transmitted to the Society for Constitutional Information in London; requesting their Approbation for Twelve of our Friends to be entered into their Society, for the Purpose of establishing a Connection and a regular Communication with that, and all other similar Societies in the Kingdom.

By Order of the Committee.

(Signed) _____ Chairman.

“ Ordered, That the Secretary do return the Thanks of this Society to the Society for Constitutional Information established at Sheffield; and that he express to them with what Friendship and Affection this Society embraces them as Brothers and Fellow Labourers in the same Cause. That he do assure them of our entire Concurrence with their Opinion, viz. That the People of this country are not, as Mr. Burke terms them, *Swine*, but rational Beings, better qualified to separate Truth from Error than himself, possessing more Honesty, and less Craft.

“ Resolved, That this Society will, on Friday next, March 31st, ballot for the Twelve associated Members recommended by the Sheffield Committee, and approved at this Meeting.”

(Signed) _____ Chairman.

At a Meeting, 30th March, 1792.

The Twelve Gentlemen recommended by the Sheffield Society, were unanimously elected.

Read a Letter, with enclosed Resolutions, from the Secretary to the Corresponding Society, London.

“ London Corresponding Society.

“ Resolved, That every Individual has a Right to share in the Government of that Society of which he is a Member, unless incapacitated.

“ Resolved, That nothing but Non-age, a Privation of Reason, or an Offence against the general Rules of Society can incapacitate him.

“ Resolved, That it is no less the Right than the Duty of every Citizen to keep a watchful Eye on the Government of his Country, that the Laws by being multiplied do not degenerate into Oppression; and that those who are intrusted with the Government do not substitute private Interest for public Advantage.

“ Resolved, That the People of Great Britain are not properly represented in Parliament.

“ Resolved, That in consequence of a partial, unequal, and inadequate Representation, together with the corrupt Method in which Representatives are elected, oppressive Taxes, unjust Laws, Restrictions of Liberty, and wasting of the public Money, have ensued.

“ Resolved,

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“ Resolved, That the only Remedy to those Evils is a fair and impartial Representation of the People in Parliament.

“ Resolved, That a fair and impartial Representation can never take place until partial Privileges are abolished ; and the strong Temptations held out to Electors affords a presumptive Proof that the Representatives of this Country seldom procure a Seat in Parliament from the unbought Suffrages of a Free People.

“ Resolved, That this Society do express their Abhorrence of Tumult and Violence ; and that, as they aim at Reform, not Anarchy, Reason, Firmness, and Unanimity be the only Arms they employ, or persuade their Fellow Citizens to exert against Abuse of Power.

“ Ordered, That the Secretary of this Society do communicate the foregoing to the Societies for Constitutional Information established in London, Manchester, and Sheffield.

“ By Order of the Committee.

(Signed) ——— Secretary.”

“ Resolved, That the Secretary of this Society do express to the Corresponding Society the extreme Satisfaction which we have received by the above Communication ; and to assure them of our Desire to continue to correspond and co-operate with them for the Purpose of obtaining a fair Representation of the People in Parliament.”

At a Meeting, 20th April, 1792.

A Declaration from a Society in Southwark was read ; and,

Resolved, That the Thanks of the Society be given to the Southwark Society for the following Communication, and that it be published in the Papers,

At a Meeting at the Three Tuns Tavern, Southwark, April 19, 1792.

Resolved, That we do now form ourselves into a Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge.

Resolved, That the Society be denominated The Friends of the People.

Resolved, That the following be the Declaration of this Society.

Extract from Declaration.

Considering that Ignorance, Forgetfulness, or Contempt of the Rights of Men, are the sole Causes of Public Grievances, and the Corruption of Government, this Society, formed for the Purpose of investigating and asserting those Rights, and of uniting our Efforts with others of our Fellow Citizens for correcting National Abuses, and restraining unnecessary and exorbitant Taxation, do hereby declare—

1st, That the great End of Civil Society is general Happiness.

2dly, That no Form of Government is good any further than it secures that Object.

3dly, That all Civil and Political Authority is derived from the People.

4thly, That equal active Citizenship is the unalienable Right of all Men ; Minors, Criminals, and insane Persons excepted.

5thly, That the Exercise of that Right, in appointing an adequate Representative Government, is the wisest Device of Human Policy, and the only Security of National Freedom.

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Further Extract from same Paper.

We call upon our Fellow Citizens of all Descriptions to institute similar Societies *for the same great Purpose; and we recommend a general Correspondence with each other, and with the Society for Constitutional Information at London, as the best Means of cementing the common Union, and of directing with greater Energy our united Efforts to the same common Objects.*

By Order of the Committee.

(Signed) ——— Secretary.

At a Meeting, 27th April, 1792.

Resolved, That every Society desiring an Union or Correspondence with this, and which doth not profess any Principles destructive to Truth or Justice, or subversive to the Liberties of our Country; but which on the contrary seeks, as we do, the Removal of Corruption from the Legislature, and Abuses from the Government, ought to be, and we hope will be, embraced with the most Brotherly Affection and Patriotic Friendship by this Society.

Read the following Letter, addressed to the Society called The Friends of the People associated for Constitutional Reform, assembled at Free Masons Tavern.

Sir,

By the Society for Constitutional Information I am commanded to express to you the Satisfaction that its Members feel on the Institution of your Society.

That the House of Commons itself, which is the very Subject to be reformed, should have furnished a Part of this Strength, may ultimately afford important Advantages to the Public. But it must not, Sir, be disguised, that at first this Circumstance will necessarily be accompanied with Doubts, with Suspicions, with Apprehensions. It is not, Sir, the first Time that Numbers of that House have professed themselves Reformers: It is not the first Time that they have entered into popular Associations. But should they, on this Occasion, prove faithfully instrumental in effecting a substantial Reform in the Representation of the People, and the Duration of Parliaments, it will be the first Time that the Nation hath not found itself in an Error, when it placed Confidence in associated Members of Parliament, for the Recoveries of the Constitutional and inestimable Rights of the People. The long-lost Rights of Representation, are Rights, Sir, which in Truth are not to be recovered but by the Exertions and the Unanimity of the People themselves. Impressed with this great Truth, it has been an invariable Object of this Society "to revive in the Minds of the Commonalty at large a Knowledge of their lost Rights, respecting the Election and Duration of the Representative Body"—and we doubt not that your Society will see the Wisdom of pursuing a like Course. May it taste the Delight of diffusing this Knowledge; may it reap the Honour of calling forth the Energies of the Nation!

When this Society, Sir, contemplates that Flood of Light and Truth which, under a benign Providence, is now sweeping from the Earth Despotism in all its Forms, and Infringement of Rights in all its Degrees, to make Way for Freedom, Justice, Peace, and Human Happiness;

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ness; and when it sees your Society announce itself to the World as the Friends of the People, it rests assured that this new Institution abundantly partakes of that Light, that it embraces that Truth, and it will act up to the Sacredness of that Friendship which it professes, by nobly casting from it, with Disdain, all Aristocratic Reserves, and fairly and honestly contending for the People's Rights in their full Extent.

Here, Sir, be assured, lies all your Strength. You may boast of Names, of Wealth, of Talents, and even of Principles; but without the Fellowship of the People, understanding and feeling their immediate Interest in the Contest, your Association, whenever it grapples with that powerful Despotism to which it is opposed, and to which a Constitutional Cloak gives double Strength, will most assuredly crumble to Dust.

Here, Sir, it is with peculiar Satisfaction that the Society for Constitutional Information can express its Belief, that to its own unequivocal "Declaration of Rights, without which no Englishman can be a Free Man, nor the English Nation Free People," it owes that Confidence, on the Part of all true Friends to a substantial Reform of Parliament, which, in all Periods of the Society's Existence, it has invariably experienced.

This short Declaration, containing no more than four distinct Propositions, satisfied the People that the Society assumed not the Office of Reformer, without knowing with Precision what wanted Reform; nor the Character of Friend, without manifesting that Sincerity which gave Proof of its Attachment. It left to such Reformers as Mr. Burke to talk of the People's Liberties, and at the same time to deny or explain away their Rights.

This Society, Sir, trusts, that the Purity of Principle which actuated individual Members of Parliament, who joined the Associations that have been spoken of, will in no Degree be affected by the Observations that have been made upon the Insufficiency of those Associations. But, convinced that a strong Impression still remains upon the Minds of the People, that in general, Persons who have long been accustomed to hold Seats in the House of Commons under the present Abuses in the Representation, and whose Connections are all Aristocratic, must be almost more than Men, at once and completely to sacrifice both Prejudice and unwarranted Power at the Altar of Freedom;---this Society, convinced, I say, Sir, of the Existence of this Impression, would not suffer its Delicacy to stand in the Way of its Duty on this important Occasion; but determined, with the Frankness belonging to sincere Affection, to warn its new Brethren against a Danger to which they might otherwise become exposed through mere Inadvertency.

That the distinguished Persons who have adorned the Senate, and now adorn your Society, may be found equal to the sublime Efforts of Virtue which their Situation now demands, and may on that Account receive the Blessings of their Country and of Mankind to the latest Posterity, is the sincere, the ardent wish of the Society for Constitutional Information! In whose Name I have the Honour to subscribe myself, with great Regard, &c.

Resolved, That the said Letter be signed by the Chairman of this Meeting, and sent to the said Society at their next General Meeting.

A P P E N D I X C.

At a Meeting, 4th May, 1792.

Read Letter from the Revolution Societies at Norwich, as follows;

Copy of a Letter from the Chairman of the Norwich Revolution Society to the Society for Constitutional Information.

To the London Society for Constitutional Information.

The Norwich Revolution Society wishes to open a Communication with you at this Time, when Corruption has acquired a Publicity in the Senate, which exacts from the Honour of the British Nation renewed Exertions for Parliamentary Reform. Without pre-judging the probable Event of such an Application to the Legislature, this Society is willing to circulate the Information, and to co-operate in the Measures that may seem best adapted to further so desirable and so important an End. It is willing to hope the Redress of every existing Grievance at the Hands of a Government resulting from an extraordinary Convocation, in 1688, of all who had at any preceding Time been elected Representatives of the People, assisted by the Hereditary Counsellors of the Nation, and a peculiar Deputation from the Metropolis, which National CONSTITUTING Assembly cashiered for Misconduct a King of the House of Stuart.

The Opinions and Principles of this Society are best explained by an Appeal to their Literary Representatives. To James Mackintosh, Author of the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, this Society offers the Tribute of its *Approbation and Gratitude*, for the Knowledge, the Eloquence, and Philosophical Spirit with which he has *explained, defended, and commended the Revolution of France*. It hesitates to assent to this only of his Opinions, that "there are but Two Interests in Society, those of the Rich and those of the Poor." If so, what Chance have the latter? Surely the Interests of all the Industrious, from the richest Merchant to the poorest Mechanic, are in every Community the same---to lessen the Numbers of the Unproductive, to whose Maintenance they contribute, and to do away such Institutions and Imposts as abridge the Means of Maintenance, by resisting the Demand for Labour, or by sharing its Reward; as the Means most conducive to this comprehensive End, the Norwich Revolution Society desires an equitable Representation of the People.

The *Rights of Man*, by Thomas Paine, and The Advice to the Privileged Orders, by Joel Barlow, have also been read with Attention, and circulated with Avidity. They point out with Clearness most of the Abuses which have accumulated under the *British Government*; they attack with Energy most of the *Prejudices which have tended to perpetuate them*.

Internally, our Society is thus organized:---Any Person proposed and seconded by a Member is received, on paying an Admission Fine, and obliging himself to an *Annual Contribution* toward the Purchase of Books for the Use of the Society, and for Inculcation among the *confederated Clubs*. The Members assemble *twice, Monthly*. A *Committee of Correspondence* is periodically elected by Ballot, to select Books, and to conduct the other Literary Business. A *Committee of Twelve* is *periodically named by Acclamation* to attend severally the Meetings of the *various confederated Clubs*, which are invited in like Manner to depute a

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Member to the Monthly Meetings of this: These Clubs are now Seven in Number, and more are expected to announce their Adherence. The Norwich Revolution Society proposing to extend this Form of Combination, recommends for Admission into the London Society for Constitutional Information the following twelve Persons:

Norwich,
April 26th, 1792.

_____ CHAIRMAN.

At a Meeting, 11th of May, 1792.

Resolved, That there be a Communication from this Society with the Society of the Friends of the Constitution at Paris, known by the Name of The Jacobins.

Read the following Address from this Society to the Society of Friends of the Constitution at Paris, called The Jacobins.

ADDRESS.

Brothers, and Fellow Citizens of the World,

The cordial and affectionate Reception with which you have honoured our worthy Countrymen, Mr. Thomas Cooper and Mr. James Watt, Members of the Society of Manchester, and united with our Society, has been communicated to us by the Correspondence of those Gentlemen.

In offering you our Congratulations on the glorious Revolution which your Nation has accomplished, we speak a Language which only Sincerity can dictate.

The Formality of Courts affords no Example to us. To do our thoughts Justice, we give to the Heart the Liberty it delights in, and hail you as Brothers.

It is not among the least of the Revolutions which Time is unfolding to an astonished World, that Two Nations, nursed by some wretched Craft in reciprocal Hatred, should so suddenly break their common odious Chain, and rush into Amity.

The Principle that can produce such an Effect, is the Offspring of no Earthly Court; and whilst it exhibits to us the expensive Iniquity of former Politics, it enables us, with bold Felicity, to say, We have done with them!

In contemplating the Political Condition of Nations, we cannot conceive a more diabolical System of Government, than that which has hitherto been generally practised over the World: To feed the Avarice

and

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and gratify the Wickedness of Ambition, the Fraternity of the Human Race has been destroyed; as if the several Nations of the Earth had been created by rival Gods. Man has not considered Man as the Work of One Creator.

The Political Institutions under which he has lived have been counter to whatever Religion he professed.

Instead of that universal Benevolence which the Morality of every known Religion declares, he has been politically bred to consider his Species as his natural Enemy, and to describe Virtues and Vices by a Geographical Chart.

The Principles we now declare, are not peculiar to the Society that addresses you; they are extending themselves, with accumulating Force, through every Part of our Country, and derive Strength from an Union of Causes, which no other Principles admit.

The religious Friend of Man, of every Denomination, records them as his own; they animate the Lover of rational Liberty; and they cherish the Heart of the Poor, now bending under an Oppression of Taxes, by a Prospect of Relief.

We have against us only that same Enemy which is the Enemy of Justice in all Countries—a Herd of Courtiers fattening on the Spoil of the Public.

It would have given an additional Triumph to our Congratulations, if the equal Rights of Man (which are the foundation of your Declaration of Rights) had been recognized by the Governments around you, and Tranquillity established in all: But if Despotisms be still reserved, to exhibit, by a Conspiracy and Combination, a further Example of Infamy to future Ages, that Power that disposes of Events best knows the Means of making that Example finally beneficial to his Creatures.

We have beheld your peaceable Principles insulted by despotic Ignorance: We have seen the right Hand of Fellowship, which you hold out to the World, rejected by those who riot on its Plunder: We now behold you a Nation provoked into Defence; and we can see no Mode of Defence equal to that of establishing the general Freedom of Europe.

In this best of Causes we wish you success. Our Hearts go with you; and in saying this, we believe we utter the Voice of Millions.

Resolved, That the above Address be signed by the Chairman, and that _____ be requested to transmit it, with all possible Dispatch, to _____ at Paris.

Resolved, that the said Address be read a Second Time at the next Meeting, for Publication.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to meet the Committees of the Southwark, London, and Westminster Societies of the Friends of the People, To-morrow Evening, at Seven o'Clock, at the White Hart Tavern in Holborn, and be empowered to co-operate with them in the Publication of the Four Resolutions contained in the Declarations heretofore published by this Society.

At a Meeting, 18th May, 1792.

The Address to the Jacobins ordered to be published.

Read the following Letter from Mr. Paine, acquainting the Society
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that

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that he is proceeding to bring out a cheap Edition of the First and Second Parts of the Rights of Man.

Resolved, That this Society will contribute its utmost Aid towards supporting the Rights of the Nation.

Sir,

London, May 18th, 1792.

The honourable Patronage which the Society for Constitutional Information has repeatedly given to the Works, intituled, "Rights of Man," renders it incumbent on me to communicate to them whatever relates to the Progress of those Works.

A great Number of Letters, from various Parts of the Country, have come to me, expressing an earnest Desire, that the First and Second Parts of "Rights of Man" could be rendered more generally useful, by printing them in a cheaper Manner than they have hitherto been: As those Requests were from Persons to whom the Purchase, at the present Price, was inconvenient, I took the proper Means for complying with their request.

I am since informed, that the Ministry intend bringing a Prosecution; and as a Nation (as well the Poor as the Rich) has a *Right* to know what any Works are that are made the Subject of a Prosecution, the getting out a cheap Edition is, I conceive, rendered more necessary than before, as a Means towards supporting that Right;—and I have the Pleasure of informing the Society that I am proceeding with the Work.

I am, &c.

THOMAS PAINE.

To the Chairman of the Society for
Constitutional Information.

The Society took into Consideration the Contents of the aforesaid Letter, and came to the following Resolutions:

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Society be given to Mr. Thomas Paine for the Communication he has made, and for the Patriotic Disinterestedness manifested therein.

Resolved, That this Society will contribute its utmost Aid towards supporting the Rights of the Nation, and the Freedom of the Press, and him who has so essentially and successfully contributed to both.

Resolved, That the Right of investigating Principles and Systems of Government is one of these Rights; and that the Works of any Author, which cannot be refuted by Reason, cannot, on the Principles of good Government or of Common Sense, be made the Subject of a Prosecution.

Resolved, That the excessive Taxes which this Country pays, being now Seventeen Millions Annually, gives an additional Motive for the Exercise of this Right, and render it, at the same Time, a more immediate Duty the Nation owes to itself, to enter upon and promote all such Investigations.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the Rumour of the above-mentioned Prosecution; and to report thereon to the Society at its next Meeting.

Resolved, That a Copy of Mr. Paine's Letter, together with these Resolutions, be transmitted to all the associated Societies in Town and Country; and that this Society do congratulate them on the firm and orderly

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orderly Spirit, and tranquil Perseverance, manifested in all their Proceedings, and exhort them to a steady Continuance therein.

Resolved, That 3,000 Copies of the above Letter and Resolutions be printed for the Use of this Society.

At a Meeting 25th May, 1792.

Resolved, That 6,000 more Copies of the Bills directed at the last Meeting be printed: That 100 be sent to each of the Twelve associated Members of the Sheffield Constitutional Societies; 100 to each of the Twelve associated Members of the Norwich Constitutional Society; 200 to each of the other Societies corresponding with this Society; 200 to Derby; and 200 to the Society at Belpar.

Read a Paper called a Proclamation, dated the 21st Instant, for suppressing Seditious Publications.

The Society came to several Resolutions on this Proclamation; the last of which is,

That the monstrous Enormity and Grievance of the present National Debt;

The grievous Oppression of Seventeen Millions Annually of Taxes;

The scandalous Duration of Parliament for Seven years;

Private Proprietors of Boroughs, falsely pretending to be, and really acting as Representatives of the People.

Judges claiming, in all Cases, and under all circumstances, the Determination of the Criminality or Innocence of any Act, exclusively of the Jury; expensive Armaments, and menacing Proclamations and Encampments in Time of a profound Peace:

These Things we cannot believe either wise or wholesome; and we declare it to be a fatal Omission, at the Time of the Revolution, that these Things were not sufficiently guarded against; and we feel it our Duty, to the utmost of our Power, to obtain a full and fair Representation of the People, which we hold to be the only effectual Security for their Rights, Liberties, and Property, and to be the only Measure that can produce "that due Submission to the Laws, and that just Confidence in the Integrity and Wisdom of Parliament," which are declared in the said Paper, called a Proclamation, to be "the chief Causes" (under Providence) of the Wealth, the Happiness, and the Prosperity "of the Kingdom."

Read a Communication from the London Corresponding Society, as follows:

Sir,

By Direction of the Delegates of the London Corresponding Society, I have the Honour of inclosing to you a Copy of their Address and Regulations, which I request you will communicate to the Constitutional Society.

I am truly, Sir,

Your most obedient and

very humble Servant,

Secretary.

Bell, Exeter Street,

May 24, 1792.

To the Chairman of the
Constitutional Society.

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Resolved; That the Thanks of this Society be returned to the London Corresponding Society for the Communication which it has made to this Society, and that the further Consideration of the said Communication be postponed to the next Meeting of this Society.

At a Meeting, 1st June 1792.

The Secretary reported that he had sent 1,200 of the printed Bills ordered at the last Meeting to the Sheffield Constitutional Society;—1,200 to the Norwich Constitutional Society;—to the Southwark Constitutional Society 200;—to the London Corresponding Society 200; to a Person to be forwarded to Derby 200;—to the Constitutional Whigs 200;—to the Society at Belpar 200.

Resolved, That the Secretary do send to Birmingham 600—to the Society at Aldgate 200;—to Manchester 1,200;—to Liverpool 200;—to Cambridge 500;—and 400 to [a Person] to be distributed among the Societies in the Neighbourhood of Glasgow.

Read a Letter from the Corresponding Society as follows :

Sir,

31st May 1792.

The London Corresponding Society return Thanks to the Society for Constitutional Information for the Communication of Mr. Thomas Paine's Letter to them, and of their Resolutions subsequent thereto.

It gives us infinite Satisfaction to think that Mankind will soon reap the Advantage of Mr. Paine's Labours, in a new and cheaper Edition of the Rights of Man.

We are however, no Ways surpris'd at the Report of a Prosecution being commenced against his Works, for, by the Doctrine substituted for Law in England, that Truth constitutes the Libel, the very many Truths in both Volumes of the Rights of Man, render them completely Libellous, and force Administration, perhaps against their Inclination, to submit them to the impartial Investigation of competent Judges.

His Majesty's Proclamation next engages our Notice;—after reading it with great Attention, we discard an Idea thrown out by some, that it had been drawn up and sent forth at this Juncture with a View of raising unfavourable Prejudices in the Minds of the People against Mr. Paine, or his Works, now under a Prosecution; inasmuch as such an Attempt, if it could be proved, would not only bear Malice on the Face of it, but would likewise be a most daring Violation of the Laws.

We are more willing to discover therein His Majesty's great Goodness of Heart and paternal Care, anticipating our warmest Wishes, giving the greatest Encouragement to our different Societies, and holding forth the same strong Desire with us of *abiding by the Constitution in its pure and uncorrupt state, of securing the Public Peace and Prosperity, of preserving to ALL the full Enjoyment of their Rights and Liberties, both Religious and Civil*; and seeming in Fact to encourage them under the most serious Consideration of *their own Welfare and that of their Posterity*, to join us, and unite their Endeavours with ours in *guarding against all Attempts, aiming at the Subversion of wholesome and regular Government, and to discourage and repress, to the utmost of their Power, all Proceedings tending to produce Riots and Tumults.*

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Our Ends being thus uncontrovertibly the same, and thereby enjoying the Royal Sanction, we imagine that in exercising our Right of Meeting, when and where we please, of canvassing such Subjects as we think proper, of instructing our Fellow Citizens, and of uniting our Endeavours to obtain a perfect Representation in Parliament, we are taking the truest Method of securing to ourselves and our Posterity all the Blessings of Liberty and Peace.

Yielding to the Society for Constitutional Information, both in Priority of Institution, and in Greatness of Abilities, we yet put in our Claim for equality of zeal towards the Public Good, and firm Determination to obtain it.

We are, &c.

Chairman.
Secretary.

To the Chairman of the Society for Constitutional Information.

Ordered, That the said Letter be published in such Newspapers *as will receive* the Advertisements of this Society

Resolved, That an open Committee do take into Consideration Paine's Letter, and have Power to transmit Copies to the different Corresponding Societies.

6,000 Copies of the Resolutions relative to the Proclamation to be printed, and sent to the different Corresponding Societies.

At a Meeting, 15th June 1792.

Read Letter from the London Corresponding Society, stating, that they had opened a Subscription for the Defence of Mr. Paine, and that they wished Six of their Members might be associated with this Society.

Ordered, That the Secretary be desired to inform the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society, that this Society received their Proposal with Pleasure; and are willing to admit such Six of the Members whom they shall nominate, to be associated Members of this Society.

Resolved, That a Subscription be opened in this Society for the Benefit of Mr. Thomas Paine, Author of the Rights of Man.

Ordered, That the Letter of the London Corresponding Society, and the Two last Resolutions, be published in the Newspapers.

Resolved, That 12,000 Copies of Mr. Paine's Letter to Mr. Secretary Dundas be printed by this Society, for the purpose of being transmitted to our Correspondents throughout Great Britain; and that a Committee be appointed to direct the same.

At a Meeting, 22d June 1792.

A Member reported that an Information was filed against Mr. Paine for his Publication of the Rights of Man.

Ordered, That the Subscription entered into for the Benefit of Mr. Thomas Paine be entered in a separate part of the Book, and kept open for the Members of this Society.

At a Meeting, 29th June, 1792.

The Committee report a Plan of Distribution of the 12,000 Copies of Mr. Paine's Letter to Mr. Dundas; which is adopted.

At

Frenchmen,

While Foreign Robbers are ravaging your Territories under the specious Pretext of Justice, Cruelty and Desolation leading on their Van, Perfidy with Treachery bringing up their Rear, yet Mercy and Friendship impudently held forth to the World as the sole Motives of their Incursions, the oppressed Part of Mankind, forgetting for a while their own Sufferings, feel only for yours, and with an anxious Eye watch the Event, fervently supplicating the Almighty Ruler of the Universe to be favourable to your Cause, so intimately blended with their own. Frowned upon by an oppressive System of Controul, whose gradual but continued Encroachments have deprived this Nation of nearly all its boasted Liberty, and brought us almost to that abject State of Slavery from which you have so emerged, Five thousand British Citizens, indignant, manfully step forth to rescue their Country from the Opprobrium brought upon it by the supine Conduct of those in Power, they conceive it to be the Duty of Britons to countenance and assist, to the utmost of their Power, the Champions of Human Happiness, and to swear to a Nation proceeding on the Plan you have adopted, an inviolable Friendship; sacred from this Day be that Friendship between us, and may Vengeance to the uttermost overtake the Man who, hereafter, shall attempt to cause a Rupture.

Though we appear so few at present, be assured, Frenchmen, that our Number increases Daily. It is true, that the stern uplifted Arm of Authority at present keeps back the Timid; that busily circulated Impostures hourly mislead the Credulous; and that Court Intimacy with avowed French Traitors has some Effect on the Unwary and on the Ambitious; but with Certainty we can inform you, Friends and Freemen, that Information makes a rapid Progress among us; Curiosity has taken Possession of the Public Mind; the conjoint Reign of Ignorance and Despotism passes away; Men now ask each other what is Freedom, what are our Rights? Frenchmen, you are already free, and Britons are preparing to become so. Casting far from us the criminal Prejudices artfully inculcated by evil-minded Men and wily Courtiers, we, instead of natural Enemies, at length discover in Frenchmen our Fellow Citizens of the World, and our Brethren by the same Heavenly Father, who created us for the Purpose of loving and mutually assisting each other, but not to hate, and to be ever ready to cut each other's Throats at the Command of weak and ambitious Kings and corrupt Ministers: Seeking our real Enemies, we find them in our Bosoms, we feel ourselves inwardly torn by, and ever the Victims of a restless and all-consuming Aristocracy, hitherto the Bane of every Nation under the Sun. Wisely have you acted in expelling it from France.

Warm as our Wishes are for your Success, eager as we are to behold Freedom triumphant, and Man every where restored to the Enjoyment of his just Rights, a Sense of our Duty as orderly Citizens forbids our flying in Arms to your Assistance; our Government has pledged the National Faith to remain neutral—in a Struggle of Liberty against Despotism Britons remain neutral! O Shame! But we have entrusted our King with discretionary Powers, we therefore must obey,—our Hands are bound, but our Hearts are free, and they are with you.

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Let German Despots act as they please, we shall rejoice at their Fall, compassionating however their enslaved Subjects. We hope this Tyranny of their Masters will prove the Means of re-instating in the full Enjoyment of their Rights and Liberties, Millions of our Fellow Creatures.

With Unconcern, therefore, we view the Elector of Hanover join his Troops to Traitors and Robbers—but the King of Great Britain will do well to remember that this Country is not Hanover—should he forget this Distinction, we will not.

While you enjoy the envied Glory of being the unaided Defenders of Freedom, we fondly anticipate in Idea, the numerous Blessings Mankind will enjoy. If you succeed, as we ardently wish, the Triple Alliance (not of Crowns, but) of the People of America, France, and Britain will give Freedom to Europe, and Peace to the whole World. Dea Friends, you combat for the Advantage of the Human Race—How well purchased will be, though at the Expence of much Blood, the glorious unprecedented Privilege of saying Mankind is free—Tyrants and Tyranny are no more—Peace reigns on the Earth, and this is the Work of Frenchmen.

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Society be given to the London Corresponding Society for the above Address transmitted by them; and that the Secretary acquaint them this Society do highly approve of the Spirit of the same.

At a Meeting 19th October, 1792, an Answer to Joel Barlow, prepared by ——— was produced, read, approved, and, with his Letter, ordered to be published.

A Committee appointed to confer with the Delegates of the London Corresponding Society, on an Address to the National Convention of France.

At a Meeting 26th October, 1792, the Secretary read the Report of the Committee appointed at the last Meeting.

Resolved, 1st, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, the Purpose of the Address drawn up by the London Corresponding Society will be much better answered by separate Addresses from the different Societies, than by one joint Address.

2d, That the Committee, for that Reason, do *not* recommend a Concurrence with the London Corresponding Society in the Presentation of a joint Address.

3d, That the Committee, warmly approving the Principles and Spirit of the Address from the London Corresponding Society, recommend the Society to follow so laudable an Example.

4th, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the Thanks of the Society are due to the Gentlemen Delegates from the London Corresponding Society for their punctual Attendance, and for the able and candid Manner in which they assisted in discussing the Subject of the Conference.

Read a Letter, with its Inclosure, from the Editor of The Patriot, at Sheffield.

The Letter itself complains of the Constitutional Society for not answering a former Letter, and encloses a Letter from the Editor to a So-

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of large Property and good Character in the Neighbourhood, who is known to be a Friend to a Reform. "Yes."—"Well, and do you suppose, that he would promote a Scheme that would occasion and oblige him to part with that Property he possesses, in order for it to be divided amongst Strangers whom he never saw or heard of?" "No."—"Why then should you suffer yourself to be imposed on by such an idle Tale, fabricated and circulated for the Purpose of raising a Dread in you against those more enlightened of your fellow Citizens who wish for a Reform, as you would did you see its Necessity? a Dread which may cause you to shut your Eyes upon oppressive Excise and Game Laws, exorbitant Tythes, an unnecessary *Standing Army*, kept on Foot at the Expence of Two Millions and an Half, for the Purposes of Influence and Corruption; a Pension List, which is a Disgrace to the Government, and a Stigma and Reproach on the Spirit and Prudence of the Nation; Sinecure Places, for the mere possessing of which Hundreds of Individuals receive Thousands a Year each for doing *Nothing at all*, either for the *Public Service* or *their own*; in short, such an enormous accumulation of Taxes, and so prodigal an Expenditure of their Produce, as no Nation on the Earth ever heard of or submitted to before. To make you shut your Eyes, and continue blind to these Enormities, those idle and futile Tales are villainously dispersed abroad; but believe them not, consult your own Reason, and it will shew you, that there is a palpable Lie on the Face of every One of them?" Then explain the Nature, Aim, and End of your Society, invite them to attend it, and to judge for themselves. If they do so, they will soon aid and assist you, by adopting similar Ones in their several Neighbourhoods, till in Time they will overspread the whole Surface of this Sea-girt Isle.

At present, Sir, I will not trouble you further on the Subject, which I now quit to return to the Conduct and Regulation of your own Society, and all others which may arise hereafter; and as to them, I think the Innkeepers in Stockport, Manchester, &c. have given you a Hint and Lesson for which you ought to esteem yourselves for ever obliged to them. I own their Insolence and Audacity in proceeding as they have done is beyond Example, but only deserving of Contempt—as such, leave them to themselves. Public Houses were never worthy of receiving such Guests, whose sacred and important Duty require and demand to be performed in Mansions more dignified and respectable. Your Meetings should be at the Houses of one another, in honourable Rotation; and, to prevent Inconvenience from too great a Number, not more than Ten or Twelve at the most should compose a *Primary* or District Meeting. More Members *may* be admitted in each District, till they reach Twenty or Twenty-four, according to the Number fixed on—but then immediately should divide into Two District Meetings.—The several Districts should send each One Member, by Election, to a Meeting of Delegates, and this Meeting of Delegates should elect out of their own Body a *certain* Number, which is to compose a Select Committee. This Select Committee to manage the Correspondence, and every other important Concern, for the whole of the Districts in any Town or Parish, subject always to the Revision and Approbation of the Districts. The Delegates and Select Committee to be chosen only for a limited Time; before the Expiration of which others to be elected as before,

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before, from the Districts, to supply their Places, by which Rotations every Member would in *Time* become qualified to be a Delegate and a Select Committee Man, though he might not be so on his First Entrance as a District Member. These are only Hints, on which you may improve or enlarge as much as you please.

Ordered, That the said Letter be taken into Consideration the First Business at the next Meeting.

Resolved, That at the next Meeting of this Society they do consider of an Answer to the Corresponding Society, on the Subject of their Letter, accompanying their Address to the National Convention.

Resolved, That at the said Meeting the Society do attend to the Example of the London Corresponding Society, and consider of an Address to the National Convention of France.

At a Meeting, 9th November, 1792.

The Committee appointed at the last Meeting to prepare an Address from this Society to the National Convention of France made their Report, and produced the following Address, which was read and approved;

The Society for Constitutional Information in London to the
National Convention in France.

Servants of a Sovereign People, and Benefactors of Mankind,

We rejoice that your Revolution has arrived at that Point of Perfection which will permit us to address you by this Title; it is the only one that can accord with the Character of true Legislators. Every successive Epoch in your Affairs has added something to the Triumphs of Liberty; and the glorious Victory of the 10th of August has finally prepared the Way for a Constitution, which, we trust, you will establish on the Basis of Reason and Nature.

Considering the Mass of Delusion accumulated on Mankind to obscure their Understandings, you cannot be astonished at the Opposition you have met both from Tyrants and from Slaves. The Instrument used against you by each of these Classes is the same; for in the Genealogy of Human Miseries, *Ignorance* is at once the Parent of Oppression and the Child of Submission.

The Events of every Day are proving that your Cause is cherished by the People in all your Continental Vicinity; that a Majority of each of those Nations are your real Friends, whose Governments have tutored them into apparent Foes, and that they only wait to be delivered by your Arms from the dreaded Necessity of fighting against them.

The Condition of Englishmen is less to be deplored—here the Hand of Oppression has not yet ventured completely to ravish the Pen from us; nor openly to point the Sword at you. From Bosoms burning with Ardor in your Cause, we tender you our warmest Wishes for the full Extent of its Progress and Success. It is indeed a sacred Cause; we cherish it as the Pledge of your Happiness, *our natural and nearest Friends*, and we rely upon it as the Bond of paternal Union to the Human Race, in which Union our own Nation will surely be one of the first to concur.

Our Government has still the Power, and perhaps the Inclination, to employ Hirelings to contradict us; but it is our real Opinion that we

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now speak the Sentiments of a great Majority of the English Nation. The People here are wearied with Imposture, and worn out with War. They have learned to reflect, that both the one and the other are the Offspring of unnatural Combinations in Society, as relative to Systems of Government, not the Result of the natural Temper of Nations as relative to each other's Position.

Go on, Legislators, in the Work of Human Happiness. The Benefits will in Part be ours, but the Glory shall be all your own—it is the Reward of your Perseverance; it is the Prize of Virtue. The Sparks of Liberty preserved in England for Ages, like the Coruscations of the Northern Aurora, served but to shew the Darkness visible in the Rest of Europe. The Lustre of the American Republic, like an effulgent Morning, arose with increasing Vigour, but still too distant to enlighten our Hemisphere, till the Splendor of the French Revolution burst forth upon the Nations in the full Fervour of a Meridian Sun, and displayed in the Midst of the European World the practical Result of Principles, which Philosophy had sought in the Shade of Speculation, and which Experience must every where confirm. It dispels the Clouds of Prejudice from all People, reveals the Secrets of all Despotism, and creates a new Character in Man.

In this Career of Improvement your Example will be soon followed; for Nations, rising from their Lethargy, will re-claim the Rights of Man with a Voice which Man cannot resist.

Signed, by Order of the Society.

Chairman.

Secretary.

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Society be given to the Committee who prepared the above Address.

Resolved, That Mr. Barlow and Mr. Frost be deputed by this Society to present the Address of this Society at the Bar of the National Convention of France.

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Society be given to Mr. Barlow and Mr. Frost, for accepting the above Deputation.

At a Meeting, 30th November, 1792.

Read a Letter from Mr. _____ of Leicester.

Ordered, That the Secretary do write to Mr. _____ and acquaint him, that if he will transmit to him the Declaration proposed to be drawn up by the Leicester Society, the Secretary will lay the same before a Committee of this Society, who will revise the same.

Ordered, That the Declaration which shall be sent from the Leicester Society be referred to the Committee of Correspondence.

At a Meeting, 14th December, 1792.

Read a printed Address from Manchester.

Resolved, That the said Address be approved for publishing in the Newspapers.

A Motion was made, and seconded, That the 20th Law of this Society be suspended on *this* Occasion; which Motion was carried in the Affirmative.

Resolved, That the said Address be printed in the Newspapers.

Resolved,

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Resolved, That One hundred thousand Copies of the same be printed by this Society, and distributed to their Correspondents in Great Britain and Ireland.

The following Resolutions were proposed by a Member of the Society :

Resolved, 1st. That the Object of this Society, from its first Institution to the present Moment of Alarm, has uniformly been to promote the Welfare of the People by all Constitutional Means, and to expose, in their true Light, the Abuses which have imperceptibly crept in, and at last grown to such an Height, as to raise the most serious Apprehensions in every true Friend of the Constitution.

Resolved, 2d. That this Society disclaims the Idea of wishing to effect a Change in the present System of Things by Violence and public Commotion ; but that it trusts to the good Sense of the People, when they shall be fully enlightened on the Subject, to procure, without disturbing the public Tranquillity, an effectual and permanent Reform.

Resolved, 3d. That the Intentions of this and of similar Societies have of late been grossly calumniated, by those who are interested to perpetuate Abuses, and their Agents, who have been industrious to represent the Members of such Societies as Men of dangerous Principles, wishing to destroy all social Order, disturb the State of Property, and introduce Anarchy and Confusion instead of regular Government.

Resolved, 4th, That in order to counteract the Operation of such gross Aspersions, and to prevent them from checking the Progress of liberal Inquiry, it is, at this Time, peculiarly expedient that this and similar Societies should publicly assert the Rectitude of their Principles.

Resolved, That the said Resolutions be adopted, in order for printing in the Newspapers.

Read a Letter from the Society of Friends of Liberty and Equality, sitting at Laon, Capital of the Department De L'Aisne, to the Patriotic Society of London, named The Society for Constitutional Information.

Resolved, That the said Letter be referred to the Committee of Correspondence.

At a Meeting, 21st December, 1792.

The Secretary reported, that he had offered the Address which was sent to the last Meeting from Manchester, and ordered to be published, to the Offices of the Morning Chronicle and Morning Post, and that they had refused to print them ; that the Morning Post had given a written Answer to his Application, which being read ;

Ordered, That the same be entered in the Books of this Society.

“ This excellent Paper, drawn by a masterly Hand, we wish to see
 “ in the Possession of every Englishman ; but after the Verdict against
 “ Mr. Paine, which was not warranted by the Law or Constitution,
 “ the Proprietors of Newspapers tremble at inserting any thing except
 “ fulsome Panegyrics on a depraved Legislature and hungry Court
 “ Minions—the vile Associations have worked the public Mind into such
 “ a Fervour, that a Jury would, by the Intimation of a Judge, find
 “ any Thing a Libel—we therefore can only express our Sorrow, that

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"Self-preservation will not permit us to make the Morning Post the Vehicle to convey this Paper to the Public."

Read a Letter from Mr. ———, of Manchester.

Resolved, That the Address from Manchester, together with the Resolution, be published in Newspapers in Scotland.

Read a Letter from the Society of the Friends to Liberty and Equality, at Macón, in the Department of Saone and Loire.

Ordered, That the same be entered on the Minutes of the Society.

[A Blank is left in the Book where it should be entered.]

Resolved, That ——— be a Committee for Foreign Correspondence.

Resolved, That the Letter from the said Society be referred to the Committee for Foreign Correspondence.

Ordered, That the Proceedings of the Committee for Foreign Correspondence be entered in a separate Book.

At a Meeting, 18th January, 1793.

Resolved, That Citizen St. André, a Member of the National Convention of France, being considered by us as one of the most judicious and enlightened Friends of Human Liberty, be admitted an Associated Honorary Member of this Society.

Resolved, That the said Resolution be published in the Newspapers.

At a Meeting, 25th January, 1793.

Resolved, That Citizen Barrère, a Member of the National Convention of France, being considered by us as one of the most judicious and enlightened Friends of Human Liberty, be admitted an Associated Honorary Member of this Society.

Resolved, That Citizen Roland, being also considered by us as one of the most judicious and enlightened Friends of Human Liberty, be admitted an Associated Honorary Member of this Society.

Resolved, That the said Resolutions be published in the Newspapers.

Resolved, That it appears to this Society, from the best Information we can obtain, that the People of Great Britain are, at this present Time, utterly averse to a War with France, and consider such an Event as a Calamity of the Human Race, however it may gratify a Confederacy of Foreign Kings.

Resolved, That the said Resolution be published in the Newspapers.

At a Meeting, 1st February, 1793.

Read a circular Letter from the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to report an Answer.

Resolved, That the Speeches of Citizen St. André and Citizen Barrère, (Associated Honorary Members of this Society) as given in the Gazette National ou Moniteur Universelle of Paris, on the 4th, 6th, and 7th of January, 1793, be inserted in the Books of this Society.

Resolved,

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Resolved, That the said Resolution be published in the Newspapers;

At a Meeting, 15th February, 1793.

Read a Letter from the Society for Constitutional Information at Birmingham, of which the following is an Extract:

Our Society requests the Favour of your admitting the following Twelve Persons, whose Names are subscribed, to be enrolled Members of your Society, for the Purpose of corresponding with yours and every other similar Institution in the Nation, for the better regulating our Measures; and receiving Instruction.

Wishing you all the Success your laudable Undertaking deserves, we are, with Sincerity,

Your Fellow Citizens and Friends.

Resolved, That the Twelve Members of the Birmingham Society for Constitutional Information, recommended in the said Letter, be admitted associated Members of this Society.

Resolved, That the said Letter, and the Election of the said Twelve Members, be published in the Newspapers (exclusive of their Names.)

At a Meeting, 15th March, 1793.

Read a Letter from the Constitutional Society at Sheffield, inclosing the Resolutions of the 13th of February last.

Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to return the Thanks of this Society to the Society for Constitutional Information at Sheffield for their Communication; and to acquaint them, that this Society perfectly agree with them in their Sentiments, with respect to the Calamities of War in general, and that they concur with them in thinking, that the Thanks of the Community at large are due to all those who have exerted themselves to prevent the present War.

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Society be given to Joel Barlow and John Frost, for their Conduct in the Presentation of the Address of this Society to the National Convention of France; and that Mr. Frost be assured, that our Regard for him is not lessened, but increased, by the Prosecutions and Persecutions which his faithful and due Discharge of that Commission may bring upon him.

At a Meeting, 5th April, 1793.

Resolved, That a Letter be written to Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, Esquires, expressive of the high Sense we entertain of their Exertions in the Cause of Freedom; and to assure them that we consider the Imprisonment they at present suffer on that Account as illegal and unconstitutional.

The following Letter was produced and read:

Gentlemen,

It is not easy for Men, who feel strongly and sincerely, to convey those Feelings by Letter, we therefore rely on your conceiving for us

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much of that which we are unable to express to you. We think, however, that we shall be guilty of a great Omission, did we neglect the Opportunity of sending you, by Mr. Hamilton Rowan, the honest Tribute of our Esteem and Admiration for your brave and manly Resistance to the usurped Jurisdiction of the Irish Aristocracy.

Permit us to offer you our Thanks, and our grateful Acknowledgement of your Efforts in what we consider as a common Cause, while we lament our Inability of proving ourselves useful in your Defence.

Although we are of different Kingdoms, still we are but One People ; and as the Freedom of One Continent has already spread its influence to Europe, so, on the other Hand, we are persuaded, that the Establishment of Despotism in Ireland must end in the Slavery of Great Britain. But the Light of Liberty is not confined to One Shore or One Latitude.

We know that it is easier to admire than to practise those Virtues that tend to the Public Benefit. Yet so long as the Exertions of a few courageous Men must influence the Minds of at least the independent and thinking Part of the Community, we are assured that their Labour is not fruitless. We trust, therefore, the Time will soon arrive, when the Abuse of Power in either Nation will have no other Consequence than the Ruin of those who have committed that Injustice. We hope, and we doubt not, of soon seeing the Day, when the Post of Honour shall be no longer that of Obloquy and Punishment, but when those who have risked their Liberty and Fortune in the Cause of their Countrymen, may find protection in the undisputed, uninterrupted Exercise of Trial by Jury, with a full and adequate Representation of the People in Parliament.

At a Meeting, 12th April, 1793.

Read an Answer directed to be prepared to the Letter received from the United Political Societies in Norwich.

Resolved, That the said Answer be sent by the Secretary to the Secretary of the said Societies.

Mr. — read an Answer (directed to be prepared by him) to the Letter received from Mr. — of Birmingham.

Read a Letter from Mr. Hamilton Rowan to the Secretary of this Society.

Ordered, That the said Letter be entered in the Books of this Society.

Mr. Hamilton Rowan presents his Compliments to Mr. Adams ; he did intend to have done himself the Pleasure of waiting on him, but has been so intolerably hurried by private Business as to have been prevented from his Purpose, and fears that he shall not have it in his Power before he leaves this Town for Ireland, which will be either on Monday Evening or early on Tuesday Morning. He knows that no more pleasurable Sensation can be received by Messrs. Butler and Bond, as well as by all those Gentlemen who are acting with them, and who, though not under present, are liable to future Prosecution, than the Countenance and support of those who are really engaged in the Cause of Man in general, and such we believe the Members of the Society for Constitutional Information to be, and as such H. R. in particular will remember the

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kind Fraternity with which he had the Honour of being received by them; and, as a Member of the United Irishmen of Dublin, would be happy to have it in his Power to return the Compliment in his own Country.

Osborne's Hotel, Adelphi,

7th April, 1793.

At a Meeting, 21st June, 1793.

Read the Sheffield and Nottingham Petitions to the House of Commons.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to prepare an Address to the British Nation; and that the said Committee be an open Committee.

At a Meeting, 28th June, 1793.

Copies of Two Petitions from the Town of Nottingham presented.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to prepare an Address to the British Nation.

Resolved, That [Two Members, who are named] be requested to prepare the said Address.

At a Meeting, 25th October, 1793.

Read a Letter from the Secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information at Coventry, to ——— accompanied with some Addresses from the said Society.

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Society be returned to the Coventry Society for their Communication.

Mr. Sinclair read a Letter, with an Address from Mr. Skirving, Secretary to the Convention of the Friends of the People in Scotland, to the Secretary to the London Corresponding Society.

Resolved, That an Extraordinary General Meeting of this Society be called for Monday next, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, at Six o'Clock in the Evening, to consider of the Utility and Propriety of sending Delegates to a Convention of Delegates of the different Societies in Great Britain, to be held at Edinburgh, for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform.

Resolved, That the Substance of the Motion be inserted in the Letter.

At a Meeting, October 28, 1793.

Read Addresses to the Friends of the People of Parliamentary Reform, signed by Wm. Skirving, Secretary to the General Convention at Edinburgh.

Resolved, That this Society do send Delegates to the ensuing Convention to be held in Edinburgh for promoting a Reform in Parliament.

Resolved, That Two Members of this Society be elected as Delegates to the said Convention.

Resolved,

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Resolved, That the Secretary do deliver to the Delegates appointed by this Society to represent them in the Convention at Edinburgh, Copies of the Proceedings of the 25th and 28th Instant, by which they are appointed to that Office.

Instructions to the Delegates.

The Delegates are instructed on the Part of this Society, to assist in bringing forward and supporting any Constitutional Measures for procuring a real Representation of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament. That in specifying the Redress to be demanded of existing Abuses, the Delegates ought never to lose Sight of the Two essential Principles, General Suffrage and Annual Representation, together with the unalienable Right in the People to Reform; and that a reasonable and known Compensation ought to be made to the Representatives of the Nation, by a National Contribution.

That the Delegates do punctually correspond with the Society, for the Purpose of communicating Information, and of receiving such farther Instructions as the Exigency may require.

Resolved, That the above be the Directions to the Delegates.

Resolved, That Seven Guineas be allowed to each of the Delegates for Travelling; and a Sum not exceeding Three Guineas per Week each be allowed them during the Sitting of the Convention of Delegates; and that a Subscription be now opened for that Purpose, and that the Secretary be requested to receive the same.

Resolved; That the Proceedings of Friday the 25th and Monday the 28th October, 1793, be signed by the Chairman and Secretary.

Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to write to the different Societies with which this Society is in Correspondence, informing them that the London Corresponding Society, together with this Society, have elected Delegates to the Convention of Delegates, to meet at Edinburgh on the 29th Instant; and to request their Concurrence in this important Measure.

At a Meeting 8th November, 1793.

Read Letters from the Constitutional Societies at Sheffield, Leeds, and Birmingham, in Answer to the Secretary's Letters of the 28th Ultimo.

At a Meeting 6th December, 1793.

Read a Letter from Mr. ———, Delegate from this Society at Edinburgh, dated 7th November, with the Secretary's Answer to that Letter; and also another Letter from Mr. ———, dated 12th November.

Resolved, That a General Meeting of this Society be called for the Second Friday in January next, for the Purpose of considering the important Letters received from the Delegate Mr. ———.

Resolved,

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Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to correspond with our Delegate, Mr. ———.

At a Meeting 10th January, 1794.

Resolved, That the important Letters received from Mr. ———, the Delegate from this Society to the Convention at Edinburgh, and the subsequent Proceedings of that Convention, be taken into Consideration on Friday next, and that a General Meeting of the Society be called for that Purpose.

At a Meeting, 17th January, 1794.

Resolved, That Law ceases to be an Object of Obedience, whenever it becomes an Instrument of Oppression.

Resolved, That we recal to Mind, with the deepest Satisfaction, the merited Fate of the infamous Jefferies, once Lord Chief Justice of England, who, at the Era of the glorious Revolution, for the many iniquitous Sentences which he had passed, was torn to Pieces by a brave and injured People.

Resolved, That those who imitate his Example deserve his Fate.

Resolved, That the Tweed, though it may divide Countries, ought not, and does not make a Separation between those Principles of common Severity, in which Englishmen and Scotmen are equally interested; that Injustice in Scotland is Injustice in England; and that the Safety of Englishmen is endangered whenever their Brethren of Scotland, for a Conduct which entitles them to the Approbation of all wise, and the Support of all brave Men, are sentenced to Botany Bay, a Punishment hitherto inflicted only on Felons.

Resolved, That we see with Regret, but we see without Fear, that the Period is fast approaching when the Liberties of Britons must depend not upon Reason, to which they have long appealed, nor on their Powers of expressing it, but on their firm and undaunted Resolution to oppose Tyranny by the same Means by which it is exercised.

Resolved, That we approve of the Conduct of the British Convention, who, though assailed by Force, have not been answered by Argument; and who, unlike the Members of a certain Assembly, have no Interest distinct from the common Body of the People.

Resolved, That a Copy of the above Resolutions be transmitted to Citizen William Skirving, Secretary to the British Convention, who is now imprisoned, under Colour of Law, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

Resolved, That the Resolutions now passed be published in the Newspapers.

Read a Letter from Mr. Hardy, Secretary to the London Corresponding Society.

At a Meeting 24th January, 1794.

A Motion was made, That it be Resolved, That the *most excellent* Address of the London Corresponding Society be inserted in the Books

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of this Society, and that the King's Speech to HIS Parliament be inserted UNDER it, in order that they may both be always ready for the perpetual Reference of the Members of this Society during the Continuance of the present *unfortunate* War; and that (in perpetuum rei Memoriam) they may be printed together in One Sheet at the *happy* Conclusion of it; which happy Conclusion, according to the present prosperous Appearances, we hope and believe not to be many Months distant.

An Amendment was moved, That between the Words (HIS) and (Parliament) the Word (*Honourable*) should be inserted.

Honourable was withdrawn.

Another Amendment was then moved, That between the Words (HIS) and (Parliament) the Word (*Faithful*) should be inserted,

Faithful was withdrawn.

And it was unanimously resolved, "That HIS, and HIS only, is the proper Epithet for Parliament upon the present Occasion."

The Resolution then passed unanimously in its original Form.

Resolved, That the London Corresponding Society have deserved well of their Country.

Resolved, That the Secretary be ordered to cause Forty Thousand Copies of the *Address, the Speech, and these Resolutions*, to be printed on One Sheet, and properly distributed in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Resolved, That these Resolutions be published in the Newspapers.

Mr. — gave Notice, that he would at the next Meeting of this Society move, that Two Books should be opened, One of them (bound in Black) in which shall be entered all the Enormities of those who deserve the Censure, and in the other the Merits of those who deserve the Gratitude of the Society.

At a Meeting 14th March, 1794.

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Society be given to Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Esquire, for the Manly Firmness with which he has uniformly pursued the Objects most dear to this Society, that of a fair Representation of the People in Parliament.

Resolved, That Archibald Hamilton Rowan, of the City of Dublin, a Gentleman of the most excellent and undoubted Public Principles, and of the most uniform and upright Conduct in the Pursuit of those Principles, be chosen an Honorary Member of this Society.

Resolved, That these Resolutions be communicated to Mr. Rowan by the Secretary of this Society.

At a Meeting, 21st March, 1794.

Resolved unanimously, That the Secretary of this Society be directed to write to the Friends of Peace and Reform at Sheffield, and to assure them, that this Society views with Pleasure their steady Exertions to obtain

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obtain a fair Representation of the People of Great Britain in Parliament, and the proper Methods which may be appointed for public Fast.

At a Meeting 28th March, 1794.

Read a Letter from the London Corresponding Society,
Resolved, That the same be entered on the Books of this Society.

Citizen,

March 27th, 1794.

I am directed by the London Corresponding Society to transmit the following Resolutions to the Society for Constitutional Information, and to request the Sentiments of that Society respecting the important Measures which the present Juncture of Affairs seems to require.

The London Corresponding Society conceives that the moment is arrived, when a full and explicit Declaration is necessary from all the Friends of Freedom—whether the late illegal and unheard-of Prosecutions and Sentences shall determine us to abandon our Cause, or shall excite us to pursue a radical Reform, with an Ardour proportioned to the Magnitude of the Object, and with a Zeal as *distinguished* on our Parts as the *Treachery* of others in the same glorious Cause is *notorious*. The Society for Constitutional Information is therefore required to determine whether or no they will be ready, when called upon, to act in Conjunction with *this and other Societies*, to obtain a fair Representation of the PEOPLE—Whether they concur with us in seeing the Necessity of a speedy Convention, for the Purpose of obtaining, in a constitutional and legal Method, a Redress of those Grievances under which we at present labour, and which can only be effectually removed by a full and fair Representation of the PEOPLE of Great Britain. The London Corresponding Society cannot but remind their Friends that the present Crisis demands all the Prudence, Unanimity and Vigour, that ever may or can be exerted by MEN and Britons; nor do they doubt but what manly Firmness and Consistency will finally, and they believe shortly, terminate in the full Accomplishment of all their Wishes.

I am, Fellow Citizen,

(In my humble Measure)

A Friend to the Rights of Man.

(Signed) ————— Secretary.

Resolved unanimously, 1st, That dear as JUSTICE and LIBERTY are to Britons, yet the Value of them is comparatively small without a Dependence on their Permanency; and there can be no Security for the Continuance of any *Right* but in EQUAL LAWS.

2d, That Equal Laws can never be expected but by a full and fair Representation of the People; to obtain which, in the Way pointed out by the Constitution, *has been* and *is* the sole Object of this Society. For this we are ready to hazard every Thing, and never, but with our Lives, will

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will we relinquish an Object which involves the *Happiness* or even the Political Existence of ourselves and Posterity.

3d, That it is the decided Opinion of this Society, that to secure ourselves from future illegal and scandalous Prosecutions, to prevent a Repetition of wicked and unjust Sentences, and to recal those wise and wholesome Laws that have been wrested from us, and of which scarcely a vestige remains, there ought to be *immediately* a CONVENTION of the PEOPLE, by Delegates deputed for that Purpose from the different Societies of the *Friends of Freedom* assembled in the various Parts of this Nation. And we pledge ourselves to the Public to pursue every legal Method speedily to accomplish so desirable a Purpose.

P. S. I have to inform you that a General Meeting of the Society will be holden on Monday the 14th April, the Place to be announced by public Advertisement.

Resolved, That it is fit and proper, and the Duty of this Society, to send an Answer to the London Corresponding Society.

Ordered, That the Secretary acquaint the London Corresponding Society that we have received their Communication, and heartily concur with them in the Objects they have in View; and that, for the Purpose of a more speedy and effectual Co-operation, we invite them to send to this Society next Friday Evening a Delegation of some of their Members.

At a Meeting, 4th April, 1794.

Read a Letter from the Committee of the London Corresponding Society, acquainting this Society that they had deputed [several Persons] to hold a Conference with the Members of this Society. Five Persons attended from the London Corresponding Society.

Resolved, That a Delegation of Five Members of this Society be appointed to meet the Members deputed by the London Corresponding Society.

Resolved, That this Deputation do confer with the Deputies of the London Corresponding Society.

Resolved, That there be appointed a Committee of Correspondence of the Members of this Society.

Ordered, That [Six Persons] compose the Committee.

At a Meeting, 11th April, 1794.

Mr. ——— made the Report of the Meeting of the Delegates of the London Corresponding Society, for the Purpose of this Society co-operating with the London Corresponding Society, and that they had come to the following Resolutions:

1st, Resolved, That it appears to this Committee very desirable that a General Meeting or Convention of the Friends of Liberty should be called.

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called, for the Purpose of taking into Consideration the proper Methods of obtaining a full and fair Representation of the People.

2d, Resolved, That it is recommended to the Society for Constitutional Information, and the London Corresponding Society to institute a regular and pressing Correspondence with all those Parts of the Country where such Measures may be likely to be promoted, not only to instigate the Societies already formed, but to endeavour also to produce such other Associations as may farther the general Object.

Resolved, That it appears to this Committee, that the general Object will be much promoted, if a standing Committee of Co-operation between the Two Societies were established, for the Purpose of holding Personal Communication with such Members of similar Societies, in other Parts of the Country, as may occasionally be in London, and who may be authorized by their respective Societies to act with such Committees.

Read the following Letter from the Secretary to the London Corresponding Society :

Citizen,

April 10th, 1794.

I am ordered by the Committee of Delegates of the London Corresponding Society, to inform the Society for Constitutional Information, that they approve of the Resolutions of the Committee of Conference.

Therefore the London Corresponding Society have chosen [Five Persons] to put in Practice immediately the Second and Third Resolutions of that Committee.

(Signed)

_____ Secretary.

_____ Secretary to the Society
for Constitutional Information.

Resolved, That the Report of the Committee of Delegates from the London Corresponding Society, and of this Society, be entered on the Books of this Society.

1st, Resolved, That it appears to this Society very desirable that a General Meeting of the Friends of Liberty should be called, for the Purpose of taking into Consideration the proper Methods of obtaining a full and fair Representation of the People.

2d, Resolved, That it appears to this Society that the general Object will be much promoted if a standing Committee of Co-operation were established, for the Purpose of holding Personal Communication with such Members of similar Societies in other parts of the Country, as may occasionally be in London, and who may be authorized by their respective Societies to act with such Committees.

3d, Resolved, That the Committee of Correspondence already appointed by this Society be the Committee for Co-operation and Communication with the Committees of other Societies.

Ordered,

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Ordered, That the Secretary be desired to send a Letter to the London Corresponding Society, acquainting them with the Members of this Society appointed to confer with them.

Resolved, That Mr. ——— be requested to accept of the Office of Secretary to the Committee of Correspondence.

Mr. ——— being present, accepted of the said Office.

At a Meeting, 9th May, 1794.

Read a Pamphlet, containing certain Proceedings of the London Corresponding Society, and of this Society.

Resolved, That Two Thousand of the same be printed by this Society.

Appendix

Appendix D.

Copy of a Letter from the Society for Constitutional Information at Sheffield to the Editors of the English Chronicle.

Gentlemen,

Sheffield, 15th January, 1792.

THE Society for Constitutional Information now established at Sheffield, in the County of York, being desirous of forming a Connection with all the like Societies in England, and especially with those, or some of them, in London, the Thatched House, the London Tavern, or others, humbly solicits your Advice and Assistance in the accomplishing thereof, in order to form our Resolves similar to theirs; because, as we are actuated by the same Cause and Principle, and all our Interests being One, our Sentiments ought and must be the same.

Your Information of the Method, Terms, and Manner of Application, for the above Purpose, as likewise to have One of our Friends admitted a Member of theirs, so as a regular Communication may be carried on between us, being directed to me, will be esteemed a particular Favour, and gratefully acknowledged by this Society; and the Expence incurred by your Attention to this Business shall be duly paid to your Order, either to the Postmaster here, or as you may please to direct, for and by the Order of this Society.

I am respectfully

Your sincere Friend ———

[The following Paragraphs are added in the same Hand.]

As the Manner of our beginning to associate on this Occasion was somewhat singular, we beg your Permission to mention a few Remarks thereon.

It first originated in an Assembly of Five or Six Mechanics, who, by their meeting at some one of their Houses, and conversing about the enormous high Price of Provisions, &c.—the gross Abuses this Nation labours under from the unbounded Authority of the Monopolisers of all Ranks, from the King to the Peasant; the Waste and Lavish of the Public Property by Placemen, Pensioners, Luxury, and Debauchery, Sources of the grievous Burthen under which this Nation groans; together with the Mock Representation of the People—these being the Subjects of their Conversation, they concluded that nothing but Darkness and Ignorance in the People could suffer the natural Rights of every Freeman to be thus violated; and this excited them to invite and to visit their Neighbours, whence a small Society of Twenty or Thirty soon commenced, and kept increasing, so that they were obliged to divide into separate Bodies; and, at this Time, they have formed Eight of these smaller Societies, which meet each at their different Houses, all on the same Evening; this preserves good Order, and none are admitted without his Ticket, that they are perfectly safe from being intruded upon, and perfectly regular good Order kept up; these meet every Two Weeks. Their General Meeting, at which some Hundreds attend, is held once a Month at [a Part here appears to be torn off] but true Knowledge will progressively extend itself

with the same Effect, throughout the whole Nation, as it hath hitherto done here. We have now in the Press a Re-publication of *Paine's Rights of Man*, for 1600 Copies, by 1400 Subscribers, at the low Price of Six-Pence each Copy, to which we purpose to annex an Abstract of the noted iniquitous Corn Bill of last Year.

We have also had an Impression here of that famous Address, signed by J. H. Tooke, Esq. Chairman; whose Address we should like to be avoured with.

Please to favour us with your Answer to the above as soon as convenient; and if you can form any Thing from the above, worthy of your truly laudable Paper, you are at Liberty; but as it was not thought of at our Meeting, it is not properly methodized and digested, as it stands, for that Purpose—we mean, in future, to trouble you with something of the Kind for that Purpose.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary to the London Corresponding Society to the Chairman of the Society for Constitutional Information.

Sir,

Thursday, 14th March, 1792.

The Delegates of the Corresponding Society think it their Duty to acquaint you, without Delay, of the Subscription begun on Monday last, at this Place, for the Defence of the Prosecution said to be commenced against your worthy Member Mr. Thomas Paine, in consequence of his valuable Publication, intitled The Rights of Man.

The Division assembled here on that Evening amounted to about Twenty Persons. At the Desire of One of our Members, Mr. Paine's Letter to Mr. Secretary Dundas was read; after which the Subscription was proposed, and immediately signed by every One present: We have just learnt that the Division No 5 of this Society likewise begun their Subscription on Tuesday last—It is our Intention to recommend to each of our several Divisions the Pursuance of the same laudable Design; and we doubt not but that a numerous Body of our Countrymen will be found to follow an Example so just in itself, and so essential to the Support of that small Portion of Liberty which the People of England are still supposed to enjoy. The Approbation and the Encouragement which our feeble Endeavours have met with from the Constitutional Society, make us desirous of uniting more strongly and more immediately with you—For this Purpose we wish that Six of our Members might be admitted amongst you, after the Manner of those whom you received from the Societies established at Sheffield and Norwich.—Conceiving that should this Plan be adopted generally, it could not fail to strengthen the Cause in which we are engaged, we beg the Favour of you to propose it at your next Meeting, and to return us the Decision of your Society thereupon.

I am, Sir, with great Attachment and Esteem,

Your most obedient Servant,

Secretary.

Copy of a Letter from the Sheffield Society to Mr. —, the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information.

Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information.

Sir,

It is now about Four Months since this Society first formed itself into a regular Body, then but very few in Number; the enclosed will inform you of their Increase, and which is most propable will soon become very numerous; and not only *this large and populous Town, but the whole Neighbourhood for many miles round about*, have an attentive Eye upon us; *most of the Towns and Villages indeed are forming themselves into similar Associations, and strictly adhere to the Mode of copying after us*; you will easily conceive the Necessity for the leading Members of this Body to pay strict Attention to good Order and Regularity, and the Need we have of consulting and communicating with those who are sincere Friends and able Advocates for the same Cause; for these Reasons we took the Liberty of writing to Mr. Horne Tooke, that worthy Friend and Patriot for the Rights of the People, informing him of our earnest Desires of entering into a Connection with the Society of the same Denomination with ours in London: His very obliging and affectionate Answer favours us with your Address; in consequence we have taken the Liberty herewith to transmit to you some Resolves which were passed at our last Meeting by the whole Body, and the Committee was charged with the Dispatch of printing and forwarding them to you accordingly, for the Purpose of submitting them to the Consideration of your Society, to make such Use of them as they think most prudent.

You will also notice *the Belpar Address*; they applied to us about Two Months ago for Instructions as to our Mode of conducting, &c. had not then formed themselves into any regular Association. Belpar is *nearly Thirty Miles from this Place*, in Derbyshire, and Eight or Ten Miles from Derby.

If the Society for Constitutional Information in London should vouchsafe so far to notice us as to enter into a Connection and Correspondence with us, it cannot fail of promoting Honour and adding Strength to our feeble Endeavours, and to the common Cause, which is the entire Motive we have in View.

I am,

S I R,

Without the greatest Respect and Esteem,

Your sincere Friend,

Sheffield,
14th May, 1792.

By Order of }
the Committee, { _____

We have taken the Liberty of enclosing a Parcel for Mr. — in Answer to a Letter from him to this Society, requesting some Information concerning our Method of conducting the Business we are embarked in &c.: Also informing us there are in London a Number of Mechanics, Shopkeepers, &c. forming themselves into a Society *on the broad Basis of the Rights of Man*. You will be so obliging as to let the Packet remain with you until he call for it, as by this Post I have wrote him thereof.

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We have given him our Manner of proceeding, from our setting out to this Time, and hope it may be of some Use; the Improvement we are about to adopt is certainly the best for managing *large Bodies, as in great and populous Towns, viz. dividing them into small Bodies or Meetings of Ten Persons each, and these Ten to appoint a Delegate: Ten of these Delegates form another Meeting, and so on, delegating from one to another, till at last are reduced to a proper Number for constituting the Committee or Grand Council.*

Please to forward the Packet to Mr. ——— as soon as convenient.

Copy of a Letter from the Society for Constitutional Information at Sheffield to the Society for Constitutional Information in London.

Gentlemen,

This Society, feeling as they do the grievous Effects of the present corrupt State Defects, and Abuse of our Country, the great and heavy Oppressions which the common Mass of the People labour under as the natural Consequence of that Corruption; and, at the same Time, being sensible, to a Degree of Certainty, that the Public Minds and general Sentiments of the People are determined to obtain **A RADICAL REFORM OF THE COUNTRY**, as soon as *Prudence and Discretion* will permit, believes it their Duty to make use of every prudent Means, as far as their Abilities can be extended, to obtain so salutary and desirable an Object *as a thorough Reformation of our Country, established upon that System which is consistent with the Rights of Man.* For these Reasons, with great Deference and Submission to the Members of the Society for Constitutional Information in London, we beg Leave to request that they will be pleased to admit the Persons of the following Names annexed hereto as Members of their Society (they being our Friends, and Members of our Society) in order that a close Connection may be formed, and a regular Communication maintained, between the Two Bodies; that being thus strengthened, this Society may be better enabled to govern itself with more Propriety, and to render Assistance to their Fellow Citizens in this Neighbourhood, and in Parts more remote; that they, in their Turn, may extend useful Knowledge still further, *from Town to Village, and from Village to Town, until the whole Nation be sufficiently enlightened, and united in the same Cause, which cannot fail of being the Case wherever the most excellent Works of Mr. Thomas Paine find Residence.*

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most respectful and sincere Friend,

Sheffield,
34th March, 1792.

By Order of }
the Committee, }

Secretary for this Society.

Names

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Names of the Twelve Members of the Society for Constitutional Information in Sheffield, requested to be entered as Members of the Society of the same Denomination in London.

Copy of a Letter from the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society. Received 19th March, 1792.

Sir,

Your Letter of the 8th Instant to Mr. ——— was Yesterday handed to us, by Means of that Gentleman: He is not a Member of this Society, and therefore cannot perfectly answer your Request respecting the Rules and Orders of this Society. It affords us infinite Satisfaction that the People in London are beginning to form themselves into orderly Societies, and taking into their Consideration the great Importance and the Necessity of a *Reform of the corrupt State of our Government*; a Work, than which none is more needful in this Nation, for the Relief of the Oppressed: The noble Observation in yours, is worthy of the Acceptation of all, viz. “That no Man who is an Advocate from Principle for “the Liberty of a Black Man, but will strenuously promote and support “the Rights of a White Man, and vice versa.”

The inclosed, sent to Mr. ——— as below, will inform you of the Principles we set out upon, when at first a very small Number, some Four or Five of us, meeting at each other's houses in an Evening, consulting and condoling the very low and even miserable Condition the People of this Nation were reduced to by the Avariciousness and Extortion of that haughty, voluptuous, and luxurious Class of Beings, who would have us to possess no more Knowledge, than to believe all Things were created only for the Use of that small Groupe of worthless Individuals. With these Sentiments, and perusing Mr. Paine's Rights of Man, maturely considering the Force and Weight of Argument therein contained, by Degrees became confirmed in our Judgment, that Pride, Ambition, Luxury, and Oppression, with every Vice, appeared to be at the Height, or nearly at the utmost Stretch; and admitting this to be the Case (as we do really believe it is) we may with the greatest Probability expect it cannot be very long before a great and perhaps a general Change will take place, which will redound with more Happiness to the People, as their Manners and moral Practices are more consistent to the Divine Will of the all-wise Disposer of all Things in Heaven and on Earth.

On these Principles our Numbers kept increasing, so that we found it necessary, for the Sake of good Order, to *divide ourselves into small Bodies, of Ten Persons each*, and to hold a General Meeting once a Month; but of late our Numbers have increased so rapidly, and only having Thirteen Meeting Places all of the same Evening, they are so crowded, that we are adopting the Plan we first set out with, and dividing the Whole (which do now consist of about 2000 Members) into Tythings, or Meetings of Ten Members each;—Two hundred of these Meetings will include the Whole, from each of which a Delegate or leading Man will be chosen, and appointed to attend at their respective Places—Ten at each: These 200 Delegates will form Twenty Meetings, of Ten Members each; and lastly, from each of these Meetings a Delegate will be appointed to meet at the appointed Place, and these will form the Committee, or the Grand Council: By this Method, Order and Regularity will be maintained; and by this Method a regular Communication throughout the whole Nation might be kept up with the most perfect Harmony—and we would particularly recommend it to you in London as worthy your Adoption. As you increase in Numbers, Necessity will confirm these Sentiments. We shall be glad at any Time to correspond, and be in close Connection with you; as our Cause is one, so ought our Sentiments to be unanimous: We also would recommend you to enter into Connection with the Members of the Society for Constitutional Information in London, of whom Mr. ——— is one; and we are fully assured that Gentleman will be the true Friend and Advocate in our Cause, consistent with his Principles hitherto manifested, both in Public and Private. We have enclosed a Packet directed to you, with a Parcel to Mr. ——— in ———, who is Secretary for the said Society, and who will deliver it to you when you call for it, containing some Information.

Copy of Resolutions transmitted to the Society for Constitutional Information.

At a Meeting of the Delegates of the United Constitutional Societies, held the 24th of March, 1792, at the Wheel of Fortune, Saint Edmunds, in the City of Norwich, it was unanimously agreed to communicate to the Gentlemen of the London Society for Constitutional Information the following Resolutions:

1st. We are happy to see the Success of the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Reform, and approve of the *Delegations which you and they* have made in order to form a Plan of *General Information*; we humbly beg that you would grant to us the same Favour, and it is our Wish that all the Societies of a similar Kind in England were only as so many Members *strongly and indissolubly united in one Political Body*.

2dly. We believe that instructing the People in Political Knowledge, and in their natural and inherent Rights as Men, is the only effectual Way to obtain the grand Object of Reform; for Men need only be made acquainted with the Abuses of Government, and they will readily join in every lawful Means to obtain Redress. We have the Pleasure to inform you that our Societies consist of *some Hundreds*; and *new Societies are frequently forming*, which by Delegates preserve a mutual Intercourse with each other for *Instruction and Information*; and the greatest Care has been taken

taken to preserve Order and Regularity at our Meetings, to convince the World that Riot and Disorder are no Parts of our Political Creed.

3dly. We believe, and are firmly persuaded, that Mr. Burke (the once Friend of Liberty) has traduced the greatest and most glorious Revolution ever recorded in the Annals of History—We thank Mr. Burke for the Political Discussion provoked, and by which he has opened unto us the Dawn of a glorious Day.

4thly. To Mr. Thomas Paine our Thanks are especially due, for *his First and Second Part of the Rights of Man*; and we sincerely wish that he may live to see his Labours crowned with Success in the general Diffusion of Liberty and Happiness among Mankind.

5thly. We view, with Concern, the late Discoveries relative to the Westminster Election, in 1788; and conceive ourselves and all true Friends of Freedom, under great Obligations to Messrs. Thomson, Wyndham, Francis, Taylor, and all the noble and spirited MINORITY, for their Exertions in order to discover the true Source of that abominable and iniquitous Procedure.

6thly. We congratulate our Brethren in the various Parts of the Kingdom, on the Progress of Political Knowledge, and earnestly intreat them to increase their Associations, in order to form One grand and extensive Union of all the Friends of General Liberty—And we hope the Time is not far distant, when the People of England will be equally and faithfully represented in Parliament.

Signed by Order,

_____, Chairman.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary to the London Corresponding Society to the President of the Society for Constitutional Information.

SIR,

I am ordered by the Committee to send to the Society for Constitutional Information in London a Copy of our Motives for associating, and the Resolutions we have come to. We mean to persevere in the Cause we have embarked in; that is, to have (if possible) an equal Representation of the People of this Nation in Parliament.

We should be exceedingly happy to enter into a Correspondence with that Society, if it is not too much Presumption in us to expect such an Honour; but as our Cause is one, we hope that they will deign to take some Notice of us, who are now entering upon a Matter of such vast Importance.

You will see, by one of our Resolutions, that we have entered into a Correspondence with the Society at Sheffield.

I am, Sir,

With all Deference,

Your most obedient

30th March, 1792.

And most humble Servant,

Copy

*Copy of a Letter from Lord John Russell to J. Cartwright, Esquire,
Chairman of the Society for Constitutional Information.*

Sir,

Fully sensible that the Society for Constitutional Information have made no Sacrifice to Delicacy in their Address to us, we on our Part shall affect no Disguise.

Voluntary Associations not being armed with Public Authority, have no Force but that of Truth, no Hope of Success but in the Strength of Reason, and the Concurrence of the Public.

We profess not to entertain a Wish "that the great Plan of Public Benefit which Mr. Paine has so powerfully recommended will speedily be carried into Effect," nor to amuse our Fellow Citizens with the magnificent Promise of obtaining for them "the Rights of the People in the full Extent,—the indefinite Language of Delusion, which by opening unbounded Projects of Political Adventure tends to destroy that Public Opinion which is the Support of all free Governments, and to excite a Spirit of Innovation of which no Wisdom can foresee the Effects, and no Skill direct the Course. We view Man as he is, the Creature of Habit, as well as of Reason. We think it therefore our bounden Duty to propose no extreme Changes, which, however specious in Theory, can never be accomplished without Violence to the settled Opinions of Mankind, nor attempted without endangering some of the most estimable Advantages which we confessedly enjoy. We are convinced that the People bear a fixed Attachment to the happy Form of our Government, and the genuine Principles of our Constitution; these we cherish as Objects of just Affection, not from any implicit Reverence, or habitual Superstition, but as Institutions best calculated to produce the Happiness of Man in Civil Society: And it is because we are convinced that Abuses are undermining and corrupting them, that we have associated for the Preservation of those Principles.

"We wish to reform the Constitution because we wish to preserve it."

Associations formed in the Face of Power, in opposition to the Interests of our present Legislators, evince that *Individual* Security and *Personal* Independence are already established by our Laws.

The immense Accumulation of Debt, the enormous Taxation of Seventeen Millions of Annual Revenue, demonstrate that the *collective* Interests of the Community have been neglected or betrayed.

We believe the defective Constitution of the Assembly, entrusted with the Public Purse to be the real Source of this Evil. With this View we have pledged ourselves to attempt a timely and salutary Reform, adhering in every Measure we may take to the fundamental Principles of the Constitution. According to those acknowledged Principles, the People have a perfect Right to possess an Organ, by which the Public Mind may speak in Legislation; and to bind their Representatives to the Interests of the whole Community, by a frequent Renovation of the Trust. These Objects accomplished, we believe Abuses will find no Protection in a genuine Representation of the People; that Regulations best adapted to the Public Happiness will be gradually infused into our Laws, through the known Channels of Legislation: And that the agitated Minds of Men, resuming their Confidence in Parliament, will subside into a calm Expectation

tation of Redress, without forgetting the Principles or violating the Form of the Constitution.

These, as we think, are the Views of Men detesting Anarchy, yet sincere Friends of the People. Your Letter appears to us to be written with a View to create Distrust of our Designs, to insinuate Doubts of Sincerity, and to excite an early Suspicion of our Principles in the Minds of the People. We have not, however, refused, in Answer, to disclaim what we condemn, and to avow our real Objects, from the Pursuit of which we will not suffer ourselves to be diverted by any Controversy. We must beg Leave, at the same Time, to decline all future Intercourse with a Society whose Views and Objects, as far as we can collect them from the various Resolutions and Proceedings which have been published, we cannot help regarding as irreconcilable with those real Interests on which you profess to inform and enlighten the People.

(Signed)

Freemason's Tavern,
Saturday, May 12th, 1792.

JOHN RUSSELL, Chairman.

Freemason's Tavern, May 12th, 1792.

At a General Meeting of the Society of the Friends of the People associated for the Purpose of obtaining Parliamentary Reform,

The Right Honourable Lord John Russell in the Chair.

Resolved, That the Proceedings of the Day, including the Letter from the Society for Constitutional Information, and the Answer of this Society to that Letter, be printed and published.

Resolved, That, together with the Answer of this Society to the Letter of the Society for Constitutional Information, there be transmitted to John Cartwright, Esq. Chairman of that Society, a Copy of the Resolution of the Society of the Friends of the People, to print and publish the Letter and Reply.

JOHN RUSSELL, Chairman.

Copy of a Letter from Stockport, to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society. Received 27th Sept. 1792.

Dear Sir,

In Obedience to the Wishes of the Society here, I have the Pleasure of acknowledging the Honour of your Letter and the Packet which the Kindness of our Brothers of the London Corresponding Society so opportunely presented us with.

It is doubly deserving our Thanks, as it shews your Kindness, and as it will be useful in the Formation of our Infant Society: We stand much in Need of your Experience in this Particular, and we doubt not of your best Assistance. We are surrounded by a Majority, a formidable One indeed, in Power, Abilities, and Numbers, but we are not dismayed.

We have carefully perused the Addresses, and I am to observe on their Contents in general, that the Sentiments *hardly rise to that Height which we expect from Men, sensible of their full Claim to absolute and uncontrollable Liberty. i. e. unaccountable to any Power which they have not immediately constituted and appointed.*

APPENDIX D.

These are our Sentiments, whatever may be yours, though in the present State of Political Knowledge *it may be prudent not to avow them openly*. We desire your Sentiments on the Means of accomplishing that Object which we presume you have in View in common with us. We think it expedient that we should perfectly understand each other in the Beginning, lest the Appearance of Disunion might furnish Matter of Triumph to our Enemies. We observe One Expression, which says, "Numerous other Reforms would undoubtedly take place, &c. &c."... But we ask, how is that Parliament to be chosen? Can we expect it from the present Order of Things? *Would not all the Evil be done away at once by the People assembled in Convention?* Does it appear probable, that the odious Laws which we complain of will be abolished any other Way? Can the Grievances arising from Aristocracy be redressed, while the ——— retains its present Authority in the Legislature? Is the universal right of Conscience ever to be attained, while the B ——— maintain their Seats on the ———.

Your Thoughts on these important Points we most earnestly desire may be transmitted to us as soon as possible: Not directed as the last; we fear it will excite Suspicion. Direct to Mr. ———, Stockport, who is Chairman occasionally in the Absence of ———, who resides too far from hence to be at Hand on Emergencies.

Your's, &c.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Margat to the Friends of Universal Peace and of the Rights of Man Society at Stockport.

SIR,

London, 11th October, 1792.

With infinite Satisfaction the London Corresponding Society Committee perused your Letter: They are happy to learn your steady Determination, Spite of all Obstacles, to pursue that sole Means of Political Felicity, a perfect Representation of the People.

With regard to our Publications, our Sentiments are expressed *in as strong Terms as Prudence will permit, yet plain enough we imagine to convince the Public that while we expect every Thing from an Honest and an Annual Parliament, nothing short of such a Senate, chosen by the whole Nation, will satisfy us.*

True Generosity, the Characteristic of this Nation, and of all unperverted Men throughout the Globe; calling upon us to countenance, at this Juncture, the arduous Struggle of the French Nation *against Despotism and Aristocracy*, those Foes to the Human Race, we have resolved upon addressing the French National Convention.

Without entering into the probable Effects of such a Measure, Effects which your Society will not fail to discover, we invite you to join us; and to that End herewith you have a Copy of our intended Address; if you approve the Idea, and will concur in sending it, be pleased to return us without Delay a Copy, signed by your President and Secretary, or by the Delegates, stating each for how many Persons he signs, we will then associate your Body with ours, and with some others who have already assented to the Measure. — If, on the contrary, you disapprove that Mark of Zeal *towards the only Nation that has hitherto undertaken*

taken to restore to Mankind its just Rights, please to communicate to us your Objections.

I am, Sir,

For the Committee of Delegates,

Your's, &c.

M. M. Ch.

Copy of a Letter from the Editors of The Patriot to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.

SIR,

Sheffield, October 15th, 1792.

Having nothing particular to communicate to your Society at the Time of the Publication of our last Number, we contented ourselves with a general Acknowledgment of the Receipt of your Favour. We now gladly embrace this Opportunity of especially thanking you for the same, and at the same Time assuring you, that the Communications you sent us shall appear in the next Number of *The Patriot*.

We beg Leave also to throw in our Mite of Commendation on the laudable Spirit which you have evinced, in your Intention to address the National Convention of France; and hope sincerely, that your Example will be followed by all the Societies in the two Kingdoms, Ireland having already set the Example.

Within these few Days we have received a Letter from the Secretary of a Society intended to be formed at Stockport, a very populous manufacturing Town, only Seven Miles from Manchester, a Copy of which we think it necessary to send you herewith, by which you will see the unjustifiable Opposition which is making by the Enemies to a Reform, and the Friends and Tools of arbitrary Power, against the Increase of those Societies, and the Attempt to crush and annihilate our Efforts in the Cause of Freedom in the very Bud. We thought it our Duty to answer the Letter immediately, in order to give them every Encouragement within the Scope of our feeble Abilities; and herewith also send your Society a Copy of our Letter on that Occasion; but we are apprehensive that the Voice of a few Individuals may not have Weight enough to answer the wished-for end, of inspiring them with sufficient Confidence to persevere. *We hope your Society will also give them your Sanction, Advice, and Support,* as it will be in vain for the Friends to Reform to contend with the tremendous Host of Enemies they have to encounter, unless they firmly on all Occasions stand by and succour one another.

It is with the greatest Satisfaction we announce to you, that several Societies have been formed within the last Three Weeks in Edinburgh, not less than Seven or Eight; and also that a Patriotic Print is about to make its Appearance, under the Direction of Major Johnson, who is also President of One of the Societies. We have received some most spirited Communications from thence; and our Bookseller has sent an Order for 50 additional Numbers of every Publication of our Work more than what was before in Circulation, with an Assurance that the Fame and Demand for it were daily increasing. We clearly foresee that Scotland will soon take the Lead of this Country, and conceive it will be necessary to take the greatest Care that an universal Communication should be constantly kept up between the several Societies, how-

Copy of a Letter from Leicester to the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information.

Sir,

I sent a Letter per Mail as a Parcel, requesting you to send me every Particular requisite to enable us to establish a Constitutional Society at Leicester, similar to yours, and those at Manchester, Stockport, &c.

Send me, if you please, all that is necessary by *First Mail*: We want Laws, Orders, Principles, Creeds, Addresses, Declarations, Resolutions, &c.

I am, Sir,

Leicester,

(In great Haste)

Nov. 15th, 1792.

Your humble Servant,

Copy of a Letter from Coventry to the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information.

Sir,

At a Meeting which was last Week convened for the Purpose of instituting a Society for Constitutional Information, it was determined by the Persons present to form themselves into a Society for that Purpose: As it was thought expedient that a Plan should be adopted, which would be calculated to produce the Object of the Institution, the Society resolved that they would apply to the Constitutional Society in London; and, at their Request, I have now taken the Liberty of soliciting you would be so kind as to transmit to us a Copy of the Plan of the Sheffield or any other Society, which *you may think best adapted* to produce the End of the Institution. Your Compliance with the Request will not only be a Sanction to the Institution, but will be attended with the salutary Effect which results from such Institutions.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

P. S. Our Corporation has been apprised of our Intention of forming a Constitutional Society; and have threatened us with a Prosecution; but we are determined to persevere in our Intention.

Coventry,

Nov. 26th, 1792.

The inclosed Hand Bill, which we *privately circulated here some Time since*, has so exasperated our Corporation, that they now declare they will punish us with that Rigour and Severity which the Proclamation has empowered them with.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society to the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information.

Sir,

London, 30th November, 1792.

I am directed by the Committee of Delegates of the London Corresponding Society, to send your Society the inclosed Copy of an Address they are forthwith going to publish, as an Answer to the sophistical

tical Address lately sent forth from the Association for the Preservation of Property, &c. from the Inroads of Levelles and Republicans.

I am,

With great Esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

Secretary.

Address of the London Corresponding Society to the other Societies in Great Britain, united for the obtaining a Reform in Parliament.

Friends, and Fellow Countrymen,

Unless we are greatly deceived, the Time is approaching when the Object for which we struggle is likely to come within our Reach. That a Nation like Britain should be free, it is requisite only that Britons should will it to become so—that such should be their Will, the Abuses of our original Constitution, and the Alarms of our Aristocratic Enemies, sufficiently witness. Confident in the Purity of our Motives, and in the Justice of our Cause, let us meet Falsehood with Proofs, and Hypocrisy with Plainness; let us persevere in declaring our Principles, and Misrepresentation will meet its due Reward—Contempt.

In this View the Artifices of a late Aristocratic Association, formed on the 20th Instant, call for a few Remarks, on Account of the Declaration they have published relative to other Clubs and Societies formed in this Nation. It is true that this Meeting of Gentlemen (for so they style themselves) have mentioned no Names, instanced no Facts, quoted no Authorities; but they take upon themselves to assert that Bodies of their Countrymen have been associated, professing Opinions favourable to the RIGHTS OF MAN, to LIBERTY and EQUALITY; and moreover that those Opinions are conveyed in the Terms, NO KING, NO PARLIAMENT. So much for their Assertions.

If this be intended to include the Societies to which we respectively belong, we here in the most solemn Manner deny the latter Part of the Charge; while, in admitting the former, we claim the Privilege, and glory in the Character of Britons. Whoever shall attribute to us the Expressions of NO KING, NO PARLIAMENT, or any Design of invading the Property of other Men, is guilty of a wilful, an impudent, and a malicious Falsehood.

We know and are sensible that the Wages of every Man are his Right; that difference of Strength, of Talents, and of Industry, do and ought to afford proportional Distinctions of Property; which, when acquired, and confirmed by the Laws, is sacred and inviolable. We defy the most slavish and malevolent Man in the Meeting of the 20th Instant, to bring the remotest Proof to the contrary. If there be no Proof, we call upon them to justify an insidious Calumny, which seems invented only to terrify independent Britons from reclaiming the rightful Constitution of their Country. We admit and we declare, that we are Friends to CIVIL LIBERTY, and therefore to NATURAL EQUALITY, both of which we consider as the RIGHTS OF MANKIND. Could we believe them to be “in direct Opposition to the Laws of this Land,” we should blush to find ourselves among the Number of its Inhabitants.

Inhabitants. But we are persuaded, that the Abuses of the Constitution will never pass current for its true Principles: since we are told in its first Charter, that ALL ARE EQUAL IN THE SIGHT OF THE LAW, which "shall neither be sold, nor refused, nor delayed to any free Man whatsoever." Should it ever happen that "Right and Justice" are opposed by Expence, by Refusal, or by Delay, then is this Principle of Equality violated, and we are no longer free men.

Such are our Notions of those Rights, which it is boldly maintained "are inconsistent with the Well-being of Society:" But let us not suffer Men who avow no Principles of Liberty, whose favourite Cry is Inequality of Property, to estrange others of our Countrymen from aiding us in serving the Community, and from recovering to the Nation that Share of its Sovereignty, which has unhappily been sacrificed to corrupt Courtiers and intriguing Boroughmongers.

If our Laws and Constitution be just and wise in their Origin and their Principle, every Deviation from them, as first established, must be injurious to the People whose Persons and Property were then secured; if, at the Revolution this Country was adequately represented, it is now so no longer, and therefore calls aloud for Reform.

If it be true that the People of Britain are superior to other Nations, is it that our Taxes are less burthensome? Or, that our Provisions are less expensive? Is it from the various Productions of our Soil that we are rich? Is it owing to the Majority of our Numbers that we are strong?—Certainly not. France has the Advantage in all these Respects, and up to this Period she has never been our Superior in Wealth, in Power, in Talents, or in Virtue. But let us not deceive ourselves, the Difference between us and that Nation was formerly that our Monarchy was limited, while theirs was absolute—that the Number of our Aristocracy did not equal the Thousandth Part of theirs—that we had Trial by Jury, while they had none—that our Persons were protected by the Laws, while their Lives were at the Mercy of every Titled Individual. We, therefore, had that to fight for which to them was unknown—since we were Men while they were Slaves.

The Scene has indeed changed—Like our brave Ancestors of the last Century, they have driven out the Family that would have destroyed them, they have scattered the Mercenaries who invaded their Freedom, and "have broken their Chains on the Heads of their Oppressors." If, during this Conflict with Military Assassins and domestic Traitors, Cruelty and Revenge have arisen among a few Inhabitants of the Capital, let us lament these Effects of a bloody and tyrannous Manifesto, but let us leave to the hypocrite Pretenders to Humanity the Task of blackening the Misfortune, and attributing to a whole Nation the Act of an enraged Populace.

As we have never yet been cast so low at the Foot of Despotism, so it is not requisite that we should appeal to the same awful Tribunal with our Brethren on the Continent. May our Enmities be written in Sand, but may our Rights be engraven on Marble! We desire to overthrow no Property, but that which has been raised on the Ruins of our Liberty. We look with Reverence on the Landed and Commercial Interests of our Country; but we view with Abhorrence that Monopoly of Burgage Tenures unwarranted by Law or Reason in this or any other Nation in Europe.

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Let us then continue, with Patience and Firmness, in the Path which is begun. Let us wait and watch the ensuing Sessions of Parliament, from whom we have much to hope, and little to fear. The House of Commons may have been the Source of our Calamity, it may prove that of our Deliverance. Should it not, we trust we shall not prove unworthy of our Forefathers, whose Exertions in the Cause of Mankind so well deserve our Imitation.

(Signed)

MAURICE MARGAROT, Chairman.

London,

_____, Secretary.

29th Nov. 1792.

APPENDIX

Appendix E.

Copy of a Letter from the Constitutional Society at Sheffield to the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information.

Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information.

Committee Room, January 16th, 1793.

“ Resolved,

“ That a Circular Letter be immediately forwarded by this Committee to every Society in Great Britain (that is known to us) which has associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Reform in Parliament, requesting each Society to inform us in what Manner they mean to come forward in Support of their several Declarations during the present Session of Parliament.”

Sir,

In Consequence of the above Resolution, we take the Liberty of addressing your Society, and of informing you that it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the Sentiments and Determination of every Society in Great Britain ought to be explicitly known, and candidly declared, in order that such of them as coincide in Idea on this great Constitutional Question may act in Concert together; a Circumstance which will greatly add to their Strength and Consequence, and which indeed appears to be indispensably requisite to be done without further Delay.

We therefore beg Leave to state, that in our Opinion any Reform will prove nugatory, or at least fall far short of the permanent and important Advantages to the Country and Constitution which we have in View, that does not consist of a *Restoration of the Right of Universal Suffrage (except of Persons not of sane Mind, under the Age of Twenty one Years, and those incapacitated by crimes)* together with *Annual Elections*; and for the Purpose of regaining these our Rights, we propose to petition the Commons House of Parliament this Session, to take into their most serious Consideration *the present very inadequate State of the Representation of the People of Great Britain*, the various and great Abuses resulting therefrom, and that they will take such speedy and effectual Measures to remove those Evils, and remedy the Grievances consequent thereon, as to their Wisdom shall seem most proper.

As the Importance and Magnitude of the Question requires that no Time should be lost which can possibly be avoided, we beg that your Society will have the Goodness to inform us how far our proposed Plan meets with your Approbation, or in what Respect, and to what Degree or Extent, we differ:

At all Events it appears highly necessary that the several Societies in the Kingdom should request to know immediately what are the express Views and Plans of “ The Society of the Friends of the People,” in order that they may be enabled to judge how far they shall be warranted in seconding and supporting the Bill which Mr. Grey has given Notice he means to introduce into the House of Commons, in the Course of the present Session, for the Purpose of obtaining this great and desirable Object.

Requesting

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Requesting an Answer as speedily as possible — we remain, with the greatest Respect, in the Name, and by Order of the Committee,

SIR,

Your most obedient Servants,

_____, President.

_____, Secretary.

Copy of a Letter from the Society for Constitutional Information at Birmingham to the Society for Constitutional Information in London.

Birmingham, February 6th, 1793.

Friends and Fellow Citizens,

The Members of the Society for Constitutional Information, established at this Place, November 20th, 1792, take this Opportunity of laying before you our printed Address and Declaration, and our Rules and Orders, which we have adopted from the Sheffield Society for our internal Government; and to shew our Justice, our Moderation, and Love to all Mankind, we desire your Advice and Assistance, that the general Mind of our Society may be formed unanimously to the best and most likely Mode of obtaining our long-lost Rights as Men free born, and as Citizens by universal Incorporation.

The interested and bigoted Supporters of the exploded System of Corruption are continually throwing Obstacles in the Way of all Reform, and threaten us with rigorous Prosecutions, and exhibit all the Engines of Power and Tyranny before us for meeting to investigate the Laws of our Country, and endeavouring to obtain, in a legal and peaceable Manner, the Birthright of every Briton, (viz.) an equal Representation of the People in Parliament; notwithstanding which, Numbers daily flock to the Standard of Liberty. We are determined, in Spite of all base Opposition, to persevere as we have begun, in the good Cause, till we have obtained the desirable End—a Redress of Grievances.

We sincerely think the Cause is of God, and that it would go on without our Interference; but who can stand by an idle Spectator, and see our Fellow Men struggling for us in the Cause of Liberty, and not have a Wish to lend a helping Hand in the humane and godlike Work?

We ardently and sincerely desire to become instrumental in so good and great a Work, the Cause of Liberty, and of all Mankind, both present and future.

The grateful Thanks of our Society are given to Mr. Horne Tooke, Major Cartwright, Mr. Erskine, and the rest of the Members of the Constitutional Society for Information in London, for their firm and manly Support and Perseverance in our Common Cause of Liberty and good Will to all Mankind, and their steady Purpose to obtain an effectual Reform in the Legislative House of the People, the Commons House of Parliament.

Our Society requests the Favour of your admitting the following Twelve Persons, whose Names are subscribed, to be enrolled Members of your Society, for the Purpose of corresponding with yours and every other similar Institution in the Nation, for the better regulating our Measures, and receiving Instruction.

Wishing you all the Success your laudable Undertaking deserves—we are, with Sincerity, your Fellow Citizens and Friends,

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[The Names of the Twelve Persons mentioned above, and of the Persons to direct to, are subjoined.]

Draft of a Letter from Mr. Margarot to the Constitutional Society at Sheffield.

Gentlemen,

12th February, 1793.

The London Corresponding Society defer answering your kind Letter, until they shall have been able to ascertain the Sense of the whole Society on the Matter. They mean likewise to confer thereon with all the other Societies in London, and also, if possible, to collect the Ideas of the unassociated, on an Object so important to us all. I am,

Gentlemen,

with Esteem,

your Fellow Labourer, &c.

Copy of a Letter from the Committee of the Friends of the People to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.

Sir,

Fifth Street, February 15th, 1793.

I am directed by the Society of the Friends of the People, to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter, dated 1st February 1793. Having pledged ourselves by our public Acts and Documents to use every Effort in our Power for the Purpose of obtaining a complete, substantial, and radical Reform of the Representation of the People in Parliament, we never can be supposed to have surrendered to any other Body of Men the Exercise of our own Discretion with Respect both to the Plan which we deem most effectual for the Purpose, and the Time which we may think most favourable for offering it to the Public; at present we think, that to make public our Views on these Subjects would be to furnish Arms to our Enemies, and to injure the Cause in which we are engaged. The Period, however, is probably not very far distant when these Particulars will be made known to the Public; it is sufficient now to express our Confidence that that Moment will prove, by Evidence more substantial than Professions, that we will propose no Plan of Reform which is short of an effectual Destruction of *Abuses* in the Representation of the People, and that we have honestly exerted every Faculty we possess in chusing the Time most favourable to the Success of our Plan.

We have learned, with Affliction and Indignation, the arbitrary and unconstitutional Interruptions of Meetings of Citizens, peaceably and lawfully assembled, for the Discussion and Maintenance of their Rights. We have ever viewed with utter Disapprobation, both of their Principles and Proceedings, the Associations who have been the Authors or Instruments of this Persecution. Their Principles, we think, are repugnant to the free Spirit of the English Law, and their Conduct, we think, has been as injurious and oppressive as the Principle of their Institution is unconstitutional and absurd. But deeply penetrated as we are with these Sentiments, we neither possessed Power nor legal Competence to interpose for the Protection of an Individual, suffering even under the most unjust Prosecution. We cannot, therefore, feel ourselves blameable for Inaction in Cases of which the Particulars were never laid before us, and in which it might have been

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been perhaps impossible, and perhaps improper, for us to have interfered.

We do not think it necessary to make any particular Remarks on those Publications which you have put forth. We are not called upon to pronounce any Judgment on the Publications of Individuals or Societies; and however we may lament the Grievances of which some of your Publications complain, our Efforts must necessarily be limited to the Object of an Institution, the Creation of an Organ to speak the Public Voice in Legislation.

We cannot help expressing some Surprize at the Information that Societies in different Parts of the Kingdom, who were solicitous about the Nature and Extent of our Plans of Reform, instead of expressing such Solitude to ourselves, should have chosen the indirect and circuitous Channel of any other Society. Had they applied to the Friends of the People directly, they would assuredly have received every Information compatible with the Prudence, and with a due Regard to the Success, of our common Cause.

On the Subject of your Correspondence with the National Convention of France, we freely communicated to you an Opinion in our last Letter. We see no Reason to change the Sentiments which we then expressed on the Prudence and Tendency of that Measure; for though we not only "acknowledge," but avow with Pride, "that to wish Success to the Cause of *Freedom* is congenial to the Heart of a Briton," yet we cannot think that Men engaged in so momentous a Cause as that of Parliamentary Reform are entitled to make public Declarations, even of their most virtuous Sentiments, in any Manner which may injure that Cause, serve the Purposes, and strengthen the Pretences of its Enemies. Far be it from us to treat with Severity and Rigour even those Errors and Indiscretions into which Men may be betrayed by a generous Zeal for the Cause of Freedom; but surely it cannot be denied, that the Correspondence of Societies in this Country with public Bodies in France has furnished the most specious Pretences to interested Men for confounding a virtuous Sensibility to the Interests of Liberty in other Countries, with a criminal Intention to introduce Disorder and Civil Commotion into our own; it is chiefly by the Help of this Pretext that designing Men have so successfully practised on the Alarms of the Public, and that timid Honesty has been rendered the Dupe and the Instrument of Corruption. But on this Subject all further Remark is now become unnecessary, as every good Citizen must now feel himself precluded from all Political Intercourse with France (for a Period which we earnestly pray may be very short) by a War, the Principle of which we utterly disapprove; the inevitable Evils of which we deeply deplore; and at the possible Consequences of which we tremble.

Amongst the most wise and honest Friends of Liberty there must arise frequent Differences of Opinion and of Conduct; and these Differences, the natural Effect of an independent Judgment and an independent Spirit, are perfectly compatible with mutual Confidence and Co-operation. When, indeed, designing Persons avail themselves of such Differences to sow Distrust, and to insinuate Suspicions against the Characters and Intentions of Men, it is then only that they become pernicious and injurious. Against Practices which might produce such a Spirit of Disunion and Distrust, it is surely almost unnecessary to

warn

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warn the Friends of Liberty at a Moment when our Enemies are so formidable and so united. They have sacrificed all inferior Interests and all former Differences to their common Interest in perpetuating Abuses and Corruptions. Let it not be said, that more generous Motives have a less powerful Influence on the Human Mind, and that the Love of Liberty is not able to produce that Union among her Friends, which in her Enemies has arisen from the most abject and sordid Passions.

It seems scarce necessary to represent to the London Corresponding Society, the peculiar Necessity of Circumspection and Moderation at a Moment when the most venal Indiscretion of the Friends of Reform is remarked with such malignant Watchfulness, and converted into an Argument against the Cause of Reform itself.

He must surely either be a secret Enemy, or an unsafe and pernicious Friend of that Cause, who could prompt you to any Thing that could be construed into Indiscretion, or who would labour to sow Distrust among the small Number of those who now appear in Behalf of Freedom in England, at a Period when a Persecution is carried on against the Friends of Reform at Home, and a War is commenced, which in its Progress may combine the Arms of England with those of Powers engaged in a Crusade against the general Liberties of Europe.

In Name and by Order of the Committee.

[Draft of a Letter from the London Corresponding Society, intended as an Answer to the foregoing Letter.]

Sir,

The Committee of the London Corresponding Society have, at present, to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter of the 15th of February.

With Pleasure we perceive your Society not unwilling to keep up a Correspondence with us, yet, at the same Time, we are sorry that you should appear to be hurt by the plain Questions we put to you in our last—to ask of you what Measures you mean to pursue in a Matter which concerns us all, is certainly no Ways calling upon you to surrender up to our Society, or even to the Public at large, your Discretion—nor can we conceive that a Body of Men having pledged themselves to the Public can be a sufficient Security to that Public to repose implicit Confidence in them without being made further acquainted with the Nature and Extent of the Plan you mean to pursue, in order that we the People may, if we approve it, co-operate with you—the Extent of your proposed Reform, we apprehend, is already determined upon, and we can discover no Advantage likely to result from its Secrecy—on the contrary, if we are to ask for ourselves the same Thing which our Friends mean to ask for us, the latter must receive their Instruction from us, or we must be directed by them—in either Case there must be no Secrets. We further conceive, that the Permanency of a Reform must be founded on the Acquiescence of the Public, who, after maturely deliberating on every Thing proposed, shall have found your Plan the most useful and the best that could possibly be laid down.—The Business we are engaged in is of too important a Nature to admit of Reserve or Disguise.—We will therefore, by the Frankness of our Behaviour,

haviour, shew ourselves worthy the Friendship of a Society of honest Men endeavouring to serve their Country, and plainly tell you, our Country Correspondents did not desire us to inquire of you what you meant to do, but fairly asked us whether we thought you honest? whether we thought you meant to serve a Party, or the Nation? whether we imagined you intended a partial or a complete Reform? Addressed in this Manner to us, and blunt as those Questions may appear, they have nothing in them which can possibly offend you, the People having always an undoubted Right to scrutinize the Character and Principles of them who call themselves their Friends, and as such avow an Intention of bringing forward Measures in which we are all so deeply interested.—As to the furnishing our Enemies with Arms by a Disclosure of our Intention, we cannot conceive, that Demands founded on Constitutional Rights can lose any of their Force by being made public. Reason (*vires acquirit eundo*) to triumph requires only to be known; and as none of the People's Demands are founded on Fallacy, to take the Enemy by Surprise would be unworthy of the Public Champions, and, moreover, perfectly needless, when Truth and Reason must unavoidably bear down all before them without the Assistance of Guile.

Under the Idea, that where you say “ You neither possessed Power “ nor legal Competence to interfere for the Protection of an Individual “ suffering under the most unjust Prosecution,” you allude to the Case of our Bill-Sticker: We must beg to set you right, and to inform you we never, as a Society, sought the Interference of any Body of Men; on the contrary, we are firmly persuaded, however hard such Cases may bear upon Individuals, they will eventually prove of Service to the Public, nothing having a greater Tendency towards rousing the Country, from its too prevalent Apathy with regard to Stretch of Prerogative and Abuse of Power.

As to our Address to the French National Convention, we imagine it best to say no more about it at present, only that if it has furnished Pretexts to designing Men, it has only saved them the Trouble of seeking Excuses elsewhere; but such Men, even without our Aid, would have been at no Loss; at the same Time we are apt to believe the Plan for War, if conceived before then, was by no Means accelerated thereby—intended as Preventatives, Addresses might have been effectual if they had been more generally adopted; the only Fault therein, that by a mistaken Idea the Addressers gave Credit to the Nation for a greater Degree of Energy than it really possessed. We agree with you that Unity of Sentiment was no Way incompatible with Diversity of Opinion, and that the latter is natural to independent Minds; with the same Object in View, their Mode of pursuing it will undoubtedly differ;—with Caution, therefore, we will watch over those who wish to sow the Seeds of unnecessary Distrust among us, and will at the same Time take good Care that the Doctrine of implicit Confidence may not gain ground among us. Full as much as yourselves we plead the Necessity of Union among the Friends of Liberty, but lament that it is prevented, or at least retarded, in many Instances, by the same Thing that promotes it among the Enemies of Reform, namely, Interest: with them all their Interest is for the Continuation of Abuses; while to some of us a Reform must be attended with pecuniary loss, and many others would lose their Employ, their daily Bread, were it known they took an active

Part:—

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Part ;—thus the same Motive, assuming on one Side the Appearance of a Virtue, gives Emulation to bad Men, and on the other, in its vilest but most natural Form, stays the Progress of those who, with the best Intentions, labour to save their Country.

We thank you for your kind and prudent Advice, enjoining us Moderation and Discretion at this critical Moment, when every Imprudence in the Advocate is liable to be rendered prejudicial to the Cause itself.

Draft of a Letter from the London Corresponding Society to the Constitutional Society at Sheffield.

4th March, 1793.

The London Corresponding Society have at present to acknowledge your last, and to answer more fully your preceding Letter.

With regard to petitioning Parliament, we are unanimous in the Opinion, that such a Petition will not produce a Reform ; yet, from many Considerations we are now persuaded, that if every Society in the Island will send forward a Petition, we shall ultimately gain Ground, for as much as it will force the present Members of the Senate to repeatedly discuss the Subject, and their Deliberations, printed in the different Newspapers, will most naturally awaken the Public Mind towards the Object of our Pursuit ; the Nation, once informed that a Reform in Parliament is sought for from different Quarters, gives Rise to Debates in the House of Commons, and is acknowledged by every Rank to be wanting, will begin to exercise their own Reason on the Subject ; arrived at that Period, we presume our Business will be nearly accomplished :

Let us closely follow up our Nottingham Brethren ; let every Society petition separately ; let every Week furnish a fresh Petition, and afford a fresh Debate ;—we seek to open the Eyes of the Public : Petitions on our Part, and Rejections on the Part of the Ministry, will effectually do it. We therefore highly approve of your Idea, and will ourselves follow it up, and recommend it to all the other Societies we correspond with ; and withal we recommend to you that no Time be lost in so doing.

With you we lament the Evils of an imprudent and inconsiderate War, a War rather eagerly sought for the Advancement of private Ends than carefully deprecated from Considerations of Public Good—a Contest unfavourable to this Country, whether either France or Despotism gain the upper Hand. We join with you in Gratitude to those worthy Members of either House who have endeavoured to avert this National Calamity, to whom we have likewise returned our public Thanks—and we remain with Sincerity and Affection,

Your Friends and Fellow Labourers,

Copy of a Letter from the United Societies at Norwich to the Society for Constitutional Information.

United Political Societies of Norwich, 5th March, 1793:

Gentlemen,

It is with peculiar Satisfaction we are favoured with your Correspondence, *not merely because you are so, although you are better fitted to diffuse knowledge*, but because you are embarked in the same magnanimous Cause, which demands with Alacrity the Attention of every Individual, and it is with the utmost Regret we see so many, either from Ignorance or something worse, who are inimical to their own Interest, for nothing contributes so much to support the Oppressor as the Ignorance of the Oppressed, for which Purpose the Flood Gates have been opened gradually, till by Degrees the Streams of Corruption have nearly overflowed the Land, such as Bounty Acts, Borrowing Qualification and Septennial Acts, besides Standing Armies, Excise and Tything Laws, with various others too painful for Reflection, without Credit to the Framers thereof, and without Advantage to Society. We do not presume to recapitulate these Abuses for your Information, but being experimentally acquainted with them, we wish to find out a *Method of Redress*. At present we see a *great Propriety in Universal Suffrage and Annual Elections*; but we beg you will be obliging enough to inform us of what you have collected of the Sense of the People by your Correspondents.—We have to inform you, that our *worthy Corresponding Societies of London have recently submitted Three Propositions for our Investigation: First, Whether a Petition to Parliament, or an Address to the King, or a Convention.*

Permit us briefly to state our Views for your Revisal; and with respect to the First, we behold *we are a conquered People*; we have tamely submitted to the galling Yoke, and Resistance in the present Circumstances is vain; we cannot, we cannot act the Man, and as Necessity have no Law, we think ourselves under *that degrading Necessity to state our Grievances to the House of Commons, with a Request for Redress, and should they refuse to grant our reasonable Petition, we have still got* (no Thanks to them) *a formidable Engine*, that will convey the *Insult to the remotest Parts of the Kingdom*. As to the Propriety of the Second, we wish to submit to your superior Judgment, and should esteem it a Favour to be informed of the Result, for at present we *are dubious of its good Consequences*. Lastly, a Convention, and oh! *that the Period were arrived*; but in the present State of Affairs, alas! it is impracticable; yet *this is the Object we pursue*, and esteem any other Means only *in Subordination to, and as having a Tendency to accomplish that desirable End*.

We wish to be in Unison with our Brethren and Fellow Labourers, and should be glad of any Information as soon as it is convenient, and we beg your Advice whether it is necessary, as soon as possible, to *collect Signatures to a Petition for a real Representation of the People*, and by whom to present it; whether Mr. Coke, Mr. Burch, or any of the Friends of the People; and whether it is attended with any Expence.—*Our Members are both inimical to the Business.*

We can give you no accurate Statement of the Representation in our Neighbourhood, only observe it is equally farcical here as elsewhere. To

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conclude with _____ for all Favours received, wishing you
and Success, and may Heaven avert _____ We subscribe
ourselves, Gentlemen, your

Obliged humble Servants,

(Signed) _____

Note. Please to direct to _____ St. Mary's Church, Mr.
_____ being no longer our Secretary.—We have between 30 and 40
separate Societies in Norwich, besides many in the Country Villages.—

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information at Birmingham to the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information at London.

Sir,

Birmingham, March 25th, 1793.

At the Request of the Society for Constitutional Information I hereby acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter, whereby it appears that your Society have acceded to our Request, by electing the Persons (whose Names you were furnished with) as associated Members in your Society, for which we beg you to accept our united Thanks, and best Wishes that your Society may go on to accumulate a Mass of true Patriots, whose Principles may not be subverted by Interest, or conquered by Fear.

This Society offers with Gratitude their Thanks and Commendations to _____ Esq. for the Present accompanying your Letter, but more particularly for his Zeal in the Cause of Freedom, which cannot be promoted but by the free Use of the Press, which we trust will never be restrained from Britons. Another Letter accompanies this, containing a few Particulars, which we doubt not you will peruse with Pleasure. Will write you further on that Subject shortly.

I am, &c.

_____ Sec.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary to the Constitutional Society at Sheffield to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.

Sheffield, Committee Room of the Constitutional Society,

Sir,

April 17th, 1793.

I am desired by the Committee to enclose you a printed Copy of the Petition agreed on by the Inhabitants here, to be presented to the House of Commons, for a Reform in Parliament, and the Address accompanying the same. Upwards of Five Thousand Signatures are already affixed to it, and we have no Doubt there will be at least as many more.

I am, with great Respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Secretary to the Constitutional Society.

To the Secretary of the Corresponding Society, London.

P. S. Having no Direction to the Constitutional Whigs, Independents, and Friends of the People, and being desired by them "to convey
"future

“future Favours through the same Channel as the last,” which was by your Means, beg you will send the other Letter which comes directed to you by same Post, to Mr. ———, Secretary of said Society.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information to the Secretary of the United Political Societies at Norwich.

Sir,

16th April, 1793.

We have to acknowledge, with great Satisfaction, the Letter which you favoured us with, dated the 5th Instant, relative to the most desirable of all other Objects, the Reform of a Parliamentary Representation. The Honour you do us in supposing that we are better fitted than yourselves for the Promotion of Political Knowledge we must disclaim, because we observe with the greatest Pleasure that our Country Correspondents have too much Zeal and Information to want Success in their public Endeavours, whether at Norwich, at Sheffield, at Manchester, or elsewhere throughout the Nation. In our Sincerity for the Good of our Country we trust that we are all equal, and as such we doubt not of our ultimate Success.

We see, with Sorrow, the Existence of those Evils which you so justly represent as the Streams of Corruption overflowing this Once free and prosperous Country. We see with Surprize and Abhorrence, that Men are to be found both able and willing to support those Corruptions. It is however no small Consolation to find that others are not wanting, in every Point of the Nation, of an opposite Character, who are ready to remedy by all laudable and honourable Means, the Defect in our Representation, the usurped Extension of the Duration of Parliaments, and other Grievances, such as you notice in your Letter.

That the Constitution of England has no more of that Character it once possessed; that the supposed Democracy of the Country has become a Matter of Property and Privilege; and that we have therefore no longer that mixt Government which our Adversaries are praising, when they know it is no longer in our Possession, are Facts notorious and indisputable. Where then are we to look for the Remedy? To that Parliament of which we complain, to the Executive Power, which is implicitly obeyed, if not anticipated, in that Parliament; or to ourselves represented, in some Meeting of Delegates for the extensive Purpose of Reform, which we suppose you understand by the Term *Convention*.

It is the End of each of these Propositions that we ought to look to; and as Success in a good Cause must be the Effect of Perseverance, and the rising Reason of the Time, let us determine with Coolness, but let us persevere with Decision. As to a Convention, we regard it as a Plan the most desirable and most practicable, so soon as the great Body of the People shall be courageous and virtuous enough to join us in the Attempt.

Hitherto we have no Reason to believe that the Moment is arrived for that Purpose.—As to any Petition to the Crown, we believe it hopeless in its Consequences.—With respect to the last of your Proposals, we are at a Loss to advise. If the Event is looked to in the Vote which may be obtained from that Body to whom this Petition is to be addressed, which of us can look to it without the Prospect of an absolute Negative? In this Point of View therefore it cannot require a Moment's Consideration. But if we regard the *Policy* of such a Petition, it may, in our Apprehen-

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sion, be well worth considering as a warning Voice to our present Legislators, and as a Signal for Imitation to the Majority of the People. Should such a Plan be vigorously and generally pursued, it would hold out a Certainty to our Fellow Countrymen that we are not a Handful of Individuals unworthy of Attention or Consideration, who desire the Restoration of the ancient Liberties of England; but on the contrary, it might bring into Light that Host of well-meaning Men, who, in the different Towns and Counties of this Realm, are silently but seriously anxious for Reformation in the Government.

We exhort you, with Anxiety, to pursue your laudable Endeavours for the common Good, and never to despair of the Public Cause.

We are, &c.

Signed by Order, in the Name of the
Society for Constitutional Information.

Secretary.

Copy of a printed Letter from the Constitutional Society at Sheffield to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.

Committee Room of the Constitutional Society, Sheffield,

Sir,

April 24th, 1793.

I am desired by the Committee of this Society to transmit you the annexed Resolutions, and to ask the Opinion of your Society whether it may not be expedient for all the Societies in Great Britain to adopt similar Resolutions, and to fix on a stated Time to follow them up with Petitions or Remonstrances, or both, against the present impolitic and ruinous War.—We think a Measure of this Kind, coming from so many Quarters of the Kingdom at the same Time, would not fail of having great Weight; and the present lamentable State of the Country demands that something effectual should be adopted towards its Relief.

Requesting as speedy an Answer as possible, I remain, with the greatest Respect, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Secretary.

P E A C E.

At a General Meeting of the Constitutional Society of Sheffield, held on Friday the 12th of April 1793,

in the Chair,

Resolved, That Peace is the Blessing, and War the Curse and Scourge of Nations; and that the present War is destructive of the Happiness, Commerce, and Liberties of this Country; that our Manufacturers and Merchants already deplore its wretched Effects; and that nothing short of an immediate Peace can save this Country from Ruin.

Resolved, That as the Motives alledged by the *Executive* MAGISTRATE for conducting War against the Republic of France no longer exist, we deem it improper that a defensive should be converted into an offensive War, and must eventually exhaust the Revenues, and spill the Blood of our Countrymen.

Resolved, That no Provocatives or Manifestoes of the French warrant

us,

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us, during this unexampled Crisis of public and domestic Dangers, in the Prosecution of an offensive War, which is now becoming, we dread, the War of Kings, and not of their Subjects.

Resolved, That notwithstanding any previous Insults we may have offered to the Republic of France, it does not behove the Character of a generous Government to pursue with Vengeance those they hate and have injured.

Resolved, That as our Ally is by Public Authority declared to be no longer in Danger, as her Towns are repaired and garrisoned; and as the Reconquest of Belgic Provinces form a potent Barrier to any present Projects of Invasion on the Part of the French, it is our Opinion that the British Troops ought to be recalled.

Resolved, That as an Alliance with the Kingdom of France was considered by William Pitt as of the greatest Importance to the Commerce and Happiness of this Country, it is the Opinion of this Society that it ought to be renewed with the Republic of France, more especially to prevent the ambitious Views of those confederate Despots who, at Pilnitz and Pavia, agree to share the Remnant of Poland, the Spoil of France and of European Turkey.

_____, Chairman.
_____, Secretary.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the Constitutional Society at Sheffield to the Secretary of the Corresponding Society in London.

Sheffield, Committee Room of the Constitutional Society,

Sir,

May 3d, 1793.

I am desired by the Committee to acknowledge the Receipt of your last Favour, and to thank you for the same. You will see by this, Copies of the Petitions which we sent you, that we have taken the Step you so warmly recommend, and which indeed you might well suppose, after our circular Letter on the Subject, we ought not to omit doing. We did it as the Act, not of the Society alone, but of the whole Town and Neighbourhood. There were nearly Ten Thousand Signatures to it.

We have sent you herewith several Copies of the Resolutions we have entered into against the War, which we beg you will distribute in such Manner as you shall think best for the Purpose intended, and let us know, as soon as possible, how you approve them.

The Direction you sent before is as good a one as you can have, to Mr. _____, at _____, Sheffield. By Order, and in the Name of the Committee, I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

Secretary to the Constitutional Society.

Draft of a Letter from the London Corresponding Society to the Secretary of the Friends of the People at Edinburgh.

Sir,

London, May 17th, 1793.

The London Corresponding Society eagerly seize the Opportunity of Mr. _____ going back to Edinburgh, to request of your Society a Renewal of Correspondence, and a more intimate Co-operation in that which
both

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both Societies alike seek, viz. a Reform in the Parliamentary Representation. We are very sensible that no Society can by itself bring about that desirable End; let us therefore unite as much as possible, *not only with each other, but with every other Society throughout the Nation.* Our Petitions, you will have learned, have been all of them unsuccessful; our Attention must now therefore be turned to some more effectual Means—From your Society we would willingly learn them, and you, on your Part, may depend upon our adopting the firmest Measures, provided they are Constitutional; and we hope the Country will not be behindhand with us.

This War has already opened the Eyes of many; and should it continue much longer, there is no answering for its Effects on the Minds of the People.

Our Society has met with much Persecution, nevertheless we go on increasing in Number and Political Knowledge. Wishing you and our Cause all Success, we remain most cordially, Sir,

For the London Corresponding Society,
Your Friends and Fellow Labourers,

_____, Chairman.
_____, Secretary.

To the Friends of the People at Edinburgh.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the Friends of the People at Edinburgh to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.

Mr. _____ did me the Pleasure to call on Thursday Afternoon, and delivered your Letter of the 17th Current. I am much pleased with the Contents of it, and shall lay it before the First Meeting of our Societies here, which however does not take place till Monday Sevensnight. I would have acknowledged the Receipt of your Favour by Yesterday's Post, but was too much employed in removing our Household to another Lodging to attend to any Thing else.

If either you in England or we in Scotland should attempt *separately* the Reform which we, I trust, seek to obtain, we should by so doing only expose our Weakness, and manifest our Ignorance of the Corruption which opposes our important Undertaking. If we sought only the Extirpation of one Set of interested Men from the Management of National Affairs, that Place might be given to another Set *without affecting the Vitals of the System adverse to Reform.* These might be easily accomplished; but to cut up deep and wide rooted Prejudices, to give effectual Energy to the Dictates of Truth in Favour of public Virtue and National Prosperity, in Opposition to Self and all its interested Habits, and to withstand and overawe the final Efforts of the Powers of Darkness, is the Work of the Whole and not of a Part, a Work to which Mankind, till this *awful Period*, were never adequate, *because never till now disposed to fraternize, not merely, or only, I trust, from the Sense of the common Danger to which we are exposed, but from the ennobling Principle of Universal Benevolence.*

I know no greater Service that I can do to my Country than to promote the Union you so wisely desire; and I am happy to assure you that I have hitherto discovered no Sentiment in our Association adverse to the most intimate and brotherly Union with the Associations in England.

I think

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I think the minds of all must, in the *Nature of Things*, be now turned to more effectual Means of Reform. Not one Person was convinced of the Necessity of it by the most convincing Arguments of Reason, together with the most unequivocal Expressions of universal Desire. What then is to be hoped for from Repetition; I am only afraid that the Bow in England against Reform was so contracted, that in returning it may break. You would willingly learn, you say, from us. I own that we ought to be forward in this. We have, at once, in great Wisdom perfected our Plan of Organization; and if we were in the same independent State of Mind as the People of England, we would be able to take the lead. The Associations with you are no more I fear—excuse my freedom—than an Aristocracy for the good of the People. They are indeed moderate, firm, and virtuous, and better cannot be; but we are the People themselves, and we are the first to shew that the People can both judge and resolve, if undirected by Faction, with both Wisdom and Moderation.

I have not a higher Wish in the present Exertions for Reform, than to see the People universally and regularly associated, because I am persuaded that the present disastrous Engagements will issue in Ruin, and the People then must provide for themselves; and it would be unhappy, when we should be ready to act with Unanimity, to be occupied about Organization, without which however Anarchy must ensue. We will not need but to be prepared for the Event, to “stand and see the Salvation of the Lord.” Let us therefore take the Hint given us by our Opposers; let us begin in earnest to make up our Minds relative to the Extent of Reform which we ought to seek; be prepared to justify it, and to controvert Objections; let us model the Whole in the Public Mind; let us provide every Stake and Stay of the Tabernacle which we would erect; so that when the Tabernacles of Oppression in the Palaces of Ambition are broken down, under the Madness and Folly of their Supporters, we may then, without Anarchy and all dangerous Delay, erect at once our Tabernacle of Righteousness. And may the Lord himself be in it.

How hurtful to the Feelings of a reflecting Mind to look back to the wretched State in which the Roman Monarchy, enfeebled and broken by its own Corruption, left the Nations which it had subjected, like “Sheep without a Shepherd,” they soon became a Prey to every Invader, because there was none to gather and unite them. Had they, foreseeing the Evil, associated for mutual Defence, no Robber would have been able to enslave them; they would have given Laws to all Parties as well as to themselves; all separate Colonies and Nations would have sought their Alliance; but not having Virtue to associate, and heal the Divisions, and root out the selfish Spirit, which ambition-fostering Governments procure to their Subjects, they fell under Oppressions, from under whose Iron Sceptre they have never yet been able to deliver themselves.

We may suppose an Event which we deprecate; nay, should we not be prepared for every possible Issue of the present unprecedented Divisions of Mankind, we have a Right to be apprehensive of the Abilities of our own Managers, who are so afraid to depart from Precedent, that like Men of Detail, they may be inadequate to the Task of preserving the Vessel from Shipwreck, now grappling with Danger, not only great, but new and uncommon. If the present Ministry fail, who after them shall be trusted? it requires little Penetration to see the Anarchy and Discord which

which will follow; it will be such that nothing *short of a general Union among the People themselves will be able to heal; haste, therefore, to associate, at least to be ready to associate.* If then, such a broken State of Things should take place, the civil Broils that would necessarily ensue would soon subside before the united irresistible Voice of the Whole. Do not, I intreat you; hesitate thinking *such a Work premature as yet; but a Month, and then it may be too late.* A malignant Party may be already formed, and only waiting for the Halting of the present Managers; it will then be too late to seek to subject to Deliberation, after a Party has dared the Act of Rebellion. *If you go no farther than separate Meetings in different Towns, we will not be able to confide in your Confraternity, because, while in such State, you may be but the Tools of a Faction.* We could have all Confidence, and unite with all Affection, in *One Assembly of Commissioners;* from all Countries of the World, if we knew they were chosen by the unbiassed Voice of the People, because they would come up with the same disinterested Views and Desires as ourselves, having all agreed to a common Centre of Union and Interest; but we could not confide in Fellow Citizens who kept aloof from such Union, and would not previously affiliate in one great and indivisible Family.

In troubling you with so long an Epistle I have at least shewn my Inclination to correspond: I have also hinted at Things which appear to me the present Subjects of Consideration, because I am desirous of your Opinion upon them. I have possibly wrote with too much Freedom, but you will place it to Account of Zeal in the Cause, and on this Score discharge my Design, which is disinterested and philanthropic.

With sincere Esteem and Affection,

I am, Sir,

Your Wellwisher,

W. SKIRVING, Secy

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the Constitutional Society at Leeds to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.

Delegate Meeting of the Constitutional Society.

SIR,

Leeds, May 30th, 1793.

By Request of the Sheffield Society, and having received Directions from them for the Purpose of corresponding with all the Societies in England and Scotland,

We the Members of the Leeds Constitutional Society, in order to obtain the desired End of Parliamentary Reform, desire fraternal Communication with the Corresponding Society in London.

We shall be glad of any Information or Instruction in your Power on all Occasions, and hope you will find the Leeds Society always faithful to the Interests of the People; and though they are but few, not exceeding Two Hundred, they are Men, and are determined to exert their utmost in order to instruct their Neighbours in their common Interest.

With this we send you a Copy of our Address and Declaration, and shall ever acknowledge all Favours from you.

Wishing the Cause of Freedom, in which we have embarked, every Degree of Success,

I remain, in the Name and by
Order of the Society,

Copy

APPENDIX E.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the Constitutional Society at Leeds to the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information.

Delegate Meeting of the Constitutional Society.

SIR,

Leeds, May 28th, 1793.

By Request of the Sheffield Society, that the Leeds Constitutional Society would correspond with all the Societies in Great Britain and Scotland, and receive Directions from them for that Purpose,

We, the Members of the Leeds Constitutional Society, beg Leave to address these few Lines to you, hoping that your paternal Affection for your Fellow Mortals, of whatever Description, may induce you to admit to Fraternization a few poor Mechanics, Friends of Liberty, but Enemies to Anarchy. Aristocratic Tyranny and Democratic Ignorance seem to pervade and overawe the Town of Leeds to that amazing Degree, that in the general we are beheld more like Monsters than the Friends of the People, and I believe that these Six Months past the ignorant Part of the People (through the Insinuations of the Aristocracy and the Priests) have expected us to fall on them and destroy them; but since the 11th of April last, the Time we had the Opportunity of publishing our Address and Declaration, and our steady and uniform Conduct, the People begin to behold us with new Eyes, and we begin to increase in our Numbers, and we hope, ere long, the Persons they took for their greatest Enemies will be looked on as their best Friends

We have herewith sent you a Copy of our Address and Declaration, and shall be glad if you think it worth your Notice to correspond with a Company of poor Mechanics. We shall ever gratefully acknowledge all Favours.

Our Numbers amount to near Two thousand, and we constantly keep increasing, and, in general, are very regular in their Conduct; but though through Predominancy of the Aristocracy they have been overawed, that they scarce durst tell their Neighbours they were their Friends; but I hope the Clouds are dispersing, and the glorious Sun of Liberty is approaching to its Meridian.

I remain, in the Name, and by

Order of the Society,

Sir, Yours, &c.

Secretary of the Constitutional
Society, Leeds.

Draft of a Letter from the London Corresponding Society to the Secretary of the Constitutional Society at Birmingham.

SIR,

10th June 1793.

It is with singular Satisfaction the Committee of the London Corresponding Society received your Letter; they are very glad to see the Spirit of Freedom springing up in Birmingham, and they make no Doubt but that the Zeal of your Society, and the Encrease of your Numbers, will soon do away the Stigma thrown on your Town by the

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unjustifiable

APPENDIX E.

unjustifiable Behaviour of a Church and King Mob. We are entirely of your Opinion with regard to the Necessity of a *general Union*; and we believe as you do, that *when once the Country shall have so united, the Neros of the Day will be forced to yield to the just Demand of a long and sore oppressed People.*

With Pleasure we accept your proffered Correspondence, and earnestly beg of you to let us hear from your Society by every Opportunity. We wish likewise you would point out to us *some safe Mode of Conveyance* for such Informations and Publications as we may think necessary to be transmitted to you. The Post we no Ways rely on, as many of our Letters have already been intercepted.

If any of the Members of your Society should have Occasion to visit this Metropolis, we hope you will not let him come without a Letter from you, and that while they stay here they will frequently *assist at the Meetings* of our several Divisions, and by thus associating *commence an Union which we hope soon to see spread itself all over Britain.*

We will not enter into a Detail of our Grievances; we are equally well informed thereon, and all alike thoroughly convinced that nothing short of Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage can restore us to that Degree of Civil Liberty we are justly entitled to, &c. &c.

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To ———, Secretary to the
Birmingham Society for Constitutional Information.

*Copy of a Letter from the Political Societies at Norwich to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society. Received 25 June, 1793.
Answered 25 July, 1793.*

The Political Societies of Norwich.

SIR,

I lately received your Letter from Mr. ———, dated April 22d, which, through Multiplicity of Business, we have omitted to answer—hope you will excuse the Delay. *We also received your friendly Letter, prior to that, wherein you stated three Propositions; First, a Petition to His Majesty, or to Parliament, or a National Convention, and ordered One of our Committee to answer it;—should be glad if you would inform me whether it was attended to;—I gave my Opinion on the Subject to the Constitutional Society of London, and found their Ideas congenial to my own, viz. an Address to the King—futile; a Petition to Parliament (as a conquered People)—tolerable; a National Convention (if Circumstances admitted)—best of all.* To what an alarming Crisis are we arrived—the Junto is formed and established,—the People become a Prey, and (to adopt the Phrase of an Hibernian Apostate) are treated as the Swinish Multitude, except the Privilege of fattening. Wars must commence at the Caprice of Individuals; People torn from their Houses to be butchered; Windmills must be attacked at the Risk of being carried over and dashed to Atoms; the Nation drained of its Sustenance to support a League, &c. &c. &c. Many Epithets may with great Propriety be applied, excepting such as Fox, Sheridan, Grey, Erskine, Lansdowne, Lauderdale, Stanhope, Paine, Priestley,

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Priestley, Tooke, Wharton, Macleod, Barlow, Mackintosh, Cooper, besides many who have suffered under the Iron Hand of, &c. and when the People have complained, and humbly requested a Removal of Abuses, they have been treated with Insult. Alas! where is the Majesty of the People? An indifferent Observer would suppose it to center in Stars and Garters, Ribbons, and costly Apparel. Palaces, Coaches and Horses, with all the Trumpery of puerile Amusement;—and were it not for their accursed Consequences, we could bear with it;—but when we consider how many sweat and toil and starve to support it, how can we be persuaded but that there is a Contrivance between the Land Owners and the Merchant to hold the People in Vassalage; for they eat up the People as they eat Bread;—the Influence of the Aristocracy and Hierarchy is become very alarming, for they have absorbed and swallowed up the People; but a Rumour is spread from the South, and it is terrible to Tyrants,—it stings their Mind,—it galls their Flesh, and like Pashur, are a Terror to themselves, lest the People should assert their Rights.

Yours, &c.

Copy of a Letter from the Hertfordshire Society to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.

SIR,

Hertford, July 5th, 1793.

Owing to some Mistake in the Post your Letter did not arrive till after the Meeting of the Hertfordshire Society in April last had taken place, I therefore had not an Opportunity of laying it before the Society till their General Meeting of Monday last. I am directed by the Society to acknowledge the Receipt of your Favour, and to assure you, that they shall be happy to co-operate with the London Corresponding Society for the Attainment of the common Object of Parliamentary Reform, so far as the Views of the Two Societies are compatible; with Regard to the Rights of Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments, we do not pledge ourselves to demand them. Without however entering into Reasoning on the Subject, which would admit of much more Discussion than the Limits of a Letter would allow, they are convinced that the common Object of the Two Societies is the same, and that the Mode in which they both wish to obtain that Object is the same also, by Constitutional Means; they will therefore be happy in receiving any Communication from the London Corresponding Society. Perseverance and Union are the Means by which Parliamentary Reform must be obtained. They shall not, they trust, be found deficient in the One, and are at all Times disposed to cultivate the other.

I have the Honour to be,

Your obedient humble Servant,

———, Secretary.

All Letters to the Society are to be addressed to ———, Hertford.

Copy of a Letter from Tewksbury, to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.

Fellow Citizen,

July 6th, 1793.

Am commissioned by the Society, as being Secretary, to thank you for your Favour of the Letter and Pamphlets—they are happy to find the

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Existence of such Associations as yours for the Attainment of so laudable a Purpose as that of a Parliamentary Reform, and hope to see them more general throughout the Kingdom—they think it high Time for the People in this Country to look into Things, and keep a stricter Watch over their Rights and Liberties than they have hitherto, lest they should be undermined, especially when Abuses so glaring are perpetually glaring them in the Face, which the most prejudiced and interested will not but allow.

As you wished to be informed respecting our Society, shall give you a concise View of it. We call it the Society for Political and Moral Information—we have a Set of Articles for the conducting of it—Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for the proposing of Books, and settling the Secretary's Accounts—we take in a periodical Work called The Patriot, and a Town and Country News-paper.

We have no Correspondence with any Society; but would gladly, were it not for the Prejudice that prevails, which to be sure has in some Measure subsided, and the Smallness of our Number; but however we shall be glad to receive a Line from you when any Thing particular occurs.—The burning of Thomas Paine's Effigy, together with the *blessed Effects* of the present War, has done more good to the cause than the most substantial Arguments; 'tis amazing the Increase of Friends to Liberty, and the Spirit of Enquiry that is gone abroad; scarcely an old Woman but is talking Politics. We have made the best Use of your Pamphlets. The Society desire their Respects and good Wishes for your Health, including my own, and remain,

Your Fellow Citizen, and
Co-operator in the glorious
Cause of Liberty,

*Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the Constitutional Society at Leeds,
to the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information.*

SIR,

I am desired by the Committee of this Society to transmit you the annexed Resolutions, and hope you will receive the same as a Token of their Respect Copies of which are sent to the several Societies mentioned in the Resolutions.

We have received a Letter with a Petition from Glasgow to His Majesty, praying that He would take the present alarming State of the Nation into His most serious Consideration, and use the utmost of His Endeavours to restore to us the blessings of Peace, which I believe will be followed from Leeds with a similar Petition, and if followed up from all other places, perhaps, might have the most salutary Effect.

I am,

With the greatest Respect,
In the Name and by Order of the Society,
Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Leeds,
July 21st, 1793

Leeds

Leeds Constitutional Society.

At a Meeting of Delegates of the said Society, on the 26th Day of June instant,

It was Resolved, That the Thanks of this Society be given to Charles Grey, Esquire, and the rest of the illustrious Minority who supported his Motion on the 6th and 7th of May last, for a Parliamentary Reform.

That the Decision of the Representative Body on the above Motion should only act with the People as a Cementer of the Bonds of Fellowship and Unanimity; and that this Society think it their Duty, and are determined, in Conjunction with all the Societies in Great Britain, to persevere until they have obtained the Object of their Association.

That the Thanks of this Society be given to the Society of the Friends of the People, for their laborious Endeavours to procure Information on the Subject of Parliamentary Reform, and for the Publication of the same, as well as the liberal Present lately received from them, and to the different Societies which have expressed their Desires for Affiliation with this Society, particularly those of London, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Glasgow.

That the Secretary do notify the above Resolutions to Mr. Grey, and the several Societies respectively; and that these Resolutions be published in one of the Leeds and one of the London Papers.

_____ President.
_____ Secretary.

Draft of a Letter from the London Corresponding Society to the Secretary to the Political Societies at Norwich.

Fellow Citizen,

London, 25th July, 1793.

The London Corresponding Society have received and read with Pleasure your Letter of the 25th of June, but the Answer which you mention to have been made to our Three Questions has not yet come to Hand. We shall be glad to be informed in your next whether it was ever put in the Post-Office.

With regard to the Questions themselves, however Individuals may have made up their Minds on them, *the Public seemed most to approve the Mode of petitioning Parliament.* We accordingly acquiesced, and sent in a Petition, signed by near 6,000 Persons. With this Letter you will receive a Copy of it; and with its Fate you are doubtless not unacquainted.

While we agree with you that the People are treated like Swine, we are forced to acknowledge that some among them, from their *Sloth and Ignorance*, scarcely deserve better Usage; however, unceasingly labouring to meliorate their Condition as well as our own, and convinced that thorough Parliamentary Reform is the only Means of effectuating it we firmly pursue our Purpose; and in the most conspicuous Manner under the Eye of the Court, in the Middle of the Metropolis, and in the very Nest of Place and Pension Hornets, the Tavern where Reeve the Tool of the Junto, holds his inquisitorial Tribunal, have lately held a General Meeting of the Society, sent forth an Address to the Nation.

and entered into some spirited Resolutions, a few Copies of which we desire you to accept, and promulgate as far and as wide as you can; at the same Time rest assured that the Firmness displayed therein is not confined to Words, but that on every Occasion our Society will be found foremost in asserting and recovering the Liberties of their Country.

Exhorting you, therefore, to throw aside all unavailing Complaint, we wish you to occupy yourselves in instructing the People, in introducing and maintaining Order and Regularity in your own Society, and in forming a Junction with all others associated for the same Purpose throughout the Nation, by keeping up a constant Correspondence with them; but, above all, *orderly and courageously preparing yourself for the Event*; for as it is natural to suppose that those who now prey on the Public will not willingly yield up their Enjoyments, nor re-possess us of our Rights *without a Struggle*, which, by their Behaviour in Ireland, we have some Reason to think they are meditating, and perhaps may intend to effect by Means of those very foreign Mercenaries who are now paid with the Sweat of our Brow, and whom, under some plausible Pretence, it would be no difficult Matter to land on our Shore--It may be more advantageous to Humanity to shew them at first, that their Opponents are neither Mob nor Rabble, *but an indignant oppressed People, in whom is not yet entirely extinct the Valour of their Forefathers.*

Union and Increase being then our only Resources, let us diligently exert ourselves therein with Zeal and Patience, removing Ignorance and Prejudice, with Firmness and a consistent Behaviour encouraging those who join us; and, above all, avoiding little Bickerings among ourselves, ever discountenancing selfish Jealousies and private Animosities, and cordially joining with Heart and Hand in the common Cause.

Your Neighbourhood must severely feel the dreadful Consequences of an iniquitous, depopulating, and ruinous War, but you are not the only Sufferers; from various Parts of the Country we learn, that the War abroad has already spread Desolation at home; yet such is the Blindness of some Folks, that they talk of its being continued for Years. Peace we wish to all Men, but to such Friends Destruction. Let us hear from you soon, and let our future Correspondence be more regular. We are, with Sincerity, Fellow Citizen, for the London Corresponding Society,

as

Your Friends and Fellow Labourers for the
Good of our Country,

*Draft of a Letter from the London Corresponding Society to the
Secretary of the Constitutional Society at Leeds.*

Fellow Citizen,

30th July, 1793.

The London Corresponding Society have at once to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter of the 30th May, and to apologize for not having answered it sooner; but by Accident it was for some Time mislaid, and the Multiplicity of Business upon our Hands occasioned a still further Delay.

Highly

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Highly approving of the Directions given you by the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information, to correspond with every Society in Great Britain, we joyfully accept your Overture, and shall not in future fail to improve the Acquaintance; at the same Time, being Inhabitants of the Metropolis, and forming a Society which has undergone some Degree of Political Warfare, and thereby acquired Experience, we will, as Occasion offers, most fraternally give you every Advice and Information in our Power; but as you already have the Assistance of the Sheffield Society, there will remain little for us to do that Way.

Let not the Smallness of your Number deter you from arduously pursuing your Plan. Reason makes sure though slow Progress, and, having once gained a Footing in the human Mind, can never be eradicated.

Your Address and Declaration have likewise been mislaid, and as yet we have been unable to recover them; therefore beg you will, with your next, send us another Copy.

To return to ourselves: we have made a Stand against the Place and Pension Clubs; we have been abused in the Senate, calumniated in public, persecuted in private, and worried out of public houses; yet (we continue meeting numerously entire) our Demands are such, that no one has dared to deny their Consonance with the Principles of the Constitution; and our Doctrine makes numerous Proselytes, and greatly increases the Number of those who may with Truth be styled the Friends of their Country in particular, and of Mankind in general. We petitioned Parliament, and they were forced to admit our Petition, although they would not grant what it required; in short, we strengthen so much, that on *the 8th of this Month* we had a General Meeting of the Society at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, the very Place where Reeves and his Accomplices meet.—He met there at the same Time in a Room under us, and, together with his Associates, swallowed a copious Draught of Mortification in seeing our Meeting so well conducted and so numerously attended; we say numerously, for having limited the Number of Admission Tickets to 700, many who had been dilatory in providing themselves were unavoidably excluded.

Inclosed you have Copies of our Petition to Parliament, of our Two First Addresses, of our Correspondence with Mr. Francis, of Mr. Wharton's Motion in the House of Commons on the 31st May, and of the Address to the Nation, and the Resolutions we published at our General Meeting. You will therein discover all that we wish to obtain, and *what we will fully obtain ere we cease to be a Society, notwithstanding the Attempt now making in Ireland, and meant to be introduced into Great Britain.* We invite you most cordially to co-operate with us; and even, if our Rules and Pursuit meet your entire Approbation, and you have no particular Attachment to the Name you have adopted, it might advantage the Cause were you to incorporate yourselves with us, and go under one common Denomination. This however is only an Idea thrown out for your Consideration. You are at perfect Liberty to notice it or not.

We are, with Sincerity, your Fellow Labourers,

&c. &c.

Draft

APPENDIX E.

from the London Corresponding Society to Hertford.

Sir,

London, 31st July, 1793.

Your Letter of the 5th Instant we have laid before the London Corresponding Society, who, sincerely anxious to promote the Cause of Freedom and Humanity, by uniting and corresponding with the Friends to Reform, directed us to answer you with all convenient Speed; but Business multiplying fast upon our Hands, both from the rapid Increase of our own Society, and from the vast Number of Country Societies weekly starting up, and who require at our Hands a regular Correspondence, we have been prevented from being so exact as we could wish; the latter Impediment however is far from inauspicious, as it may fairly be attributed to the Diffusion of Political Knowledge causing Men more seriously to reflect on the ruinous Measures now pursued, which become more unpopular proportionally as they become more unwise.

We receive with Pleasure your Assurance of co-operating with us for a Reform in Parliament, an Object to which all our Endeavours tend, and on which our Hearts are invariably fixed; but as your Declaration, that "you will not pledge yourselves to demand Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments," is followed by no specific Plan of Reform of your own, we are under some Difficulty how to conclude—Perhaps, as Strangers, you write to us with that prudent Reserve which is sometimes necessary; and that Idea receives Strength from your appearing afterwards convinced that the common Object of the Two Societies is the same, which we readily admit; but as mutual Confidence is the Basis of Union, and the only rational Pledge and Support for co-operative Exertion, we trust your next will do away every Difficulty.

With respect to Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments, a mature Conviction of their Justice and Necessity for the Preservation of Liberty and Prosperity to the great Body of the People, and for securing the Independence of Parliament, was our primary Inducement to associate. We therefore candidly assure you, that these our Principles, as already announced to the Public, remain immutable. Unconnected with any Party whatever, we can consider no Reform radical but such as will enable every Individual of the Community to enjoy the Advantages thereof equally with ourselves; for if Ignorance of the Nature of Government, or the Merits of the Candidates, be an Argument against Universal Suffrage, as our Opponents pretend, the same Reasons would equally incapacitate a great Majority of those who now enjoy that Privilege, to the Exclusion of very many Thousands much better informed than themselves—not to mention, that under a more equalized Mode of Government, the People would be at once induced and empowered to improve themselves in useful Knowledge.—In a Word, we know no Principle, consistent with Justice or Reason, by which we could exclude conscientiously any Part of the Community from an Equality of Rights and Privileges, which every Member of Society, as he contributes to its Support, ought equally to enjoy.

With respect to Annual Parliaments, we will just remark, that good Members may be re-elected, whilst Twelve Months we think fully sufficient for the Welfare of Millions to remain at the Mercy of a bad Representative.

presentative.—Having thus unequivocally stated our Principles, we shall conclude by observing, that the Bill just passed in Ireland is of a Nature to awaken the Jealousy of every Friend to Freedom and Humanity, will render every Exertion justifiable, should a similar Attack upon Constitutional Freedom be attempted here. We shall be happy to unite in the closest Bonds of Union with the Hertford Society; and hope, as they have no Party Views, that in a very short Space of Time they will think entirely as we do on the Subject of Parliamentary Reform.

We are, &c. &c.

On the 8th July, we had a General Meeting of the Society at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand. Reeves and his Associates were at the same Time in the Room beneath us. We send you a few Copies of the Address that was then published.

*Draft of a Letter from the London Corresponding Society to the
Tewkesbury Society.*

Fellow Citizens,

London, 3d August, 1793.

Your Letter of the 6th July has been laid before the Committee of Delegates of the London Corresponding Society, and it is with great Pleasure they see an infant Society starting up in your Part of the Country. Go on and prosper; no Assistance shall be wanting on our Part as to Information, Instruction, or any other Thing in which we can be useful to you—we herewith send you Copies of most of our Publications since we have been a Society—may they be of Service!

We recommend to you to peruse attentively our first Address, and the Rules which are annexed to it; it will likewise be adviseable for you to abide entirely by a thorough Parliamentary Reform, as is therein expressed, and to pay great Attention to the Instruction of your Neighbours in their Political Rights; for which Purpose Weekly Meetings, if they could conveniently take place, would prove more advantageous than your meeting only once a Month; and if you thought it might facilitate your Progress, the London Corresponding Society empower us to inform you, that they will willingly incorporate your Society with ours, under the Title of The Corresponding Society in Tewkesbury; and if so, our Rules will become yours, our Intelligence will be the same, and our Correspondence Weekly and regularly carried on—but then our Mode of Proceeding must be entirely alike, and no Reserve must take place between us.—We imagine some other Societies in other Parts of the Country will fall into the same Plan, and it need not be pointed out to you how much more forcible such a Junction would render every Thing that comes from us; but before you do it you must acquaint us with your Design, in order that we may give you every Instruction necessary. Farewell, Fellow Citizens, and firmly rely on the Assistance and sincere Friendship of the London Corresponding Society in so good a Cause.

Yours, sincerely.

APPENDIX E.

Draft of a Letter from the London Corresponding Society, apparently intended to be sent to different Societies.

Sir,

London, 15th August, 1793.

The London Corresponding Society, after so long an Interruption in their Correspondence with you, anxiously wish to renew and to render it more interesting, firmly persuaded that the Connection between the different Societies in Great Britain cannot be too closely cemented—to that End they beg you will point out a safer Mode of Conveyance for our Letters than the Post; and wish you, in Answer to this, to give us the fullest Account of your Progress, and of the State of Affairs in your Department. Continuing in a slow but steady Pace the Career which we have begun, we are nearly certain that although the Number of our Members do not increase so rapidly as from the Population of the Metropolis we might have expected, yet our Principles make their Way among the Public; and many Thousands who, from Connection, Interest, &c. may be afraid or cautious of joining us overtly, notwithstanding are our staunch Friends in private.—You very likely do not labour under the same Difficulties that we do, who are situated in the very Center of Corruption; and we have no Doubt but that the Increase of your Society keeps Pace with the Increase of those National Calamities which ever must result from an unjust War.

Viewing with Indignation the Oppression so generally exercised all over the Nation, against every Individual suspected of favouring the Cause of the People, and lamenting the gross Ignorance under which the People in general labour with regard to their Rights and Duties when called upon to serve on Juries, we have determined to re-publish, with the Addition of a few Notes and an Appendix, a most excellent Pamphlet, which made its first Appearance about one hundred Years ago, and was written by that eminent Lawyer and honest Man, Sir John Hawles, Solicitor General to King William; we therefore wish to know whether your Society would be inclined to circulate a Number of them in your Neighbourhood; and, if so, you will not delay to give us your Orders for as many as you would have sent you; and as we seek merely to defray the Expences of the printing, the Committee have fixed the Price so low as Twenty-five Shillings per Hundred.

Entreating you to give us an early Answer, we remain, for the London Corresponding Society.

List of Societies annexed, viz.

Derby,
Stockport,
Manchester Ref.
Manchester Const.
Sheffield Const.
Nottingham.

Copy of a Letter from Coventry to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.

Citizen ———, Coventry, 20th August, 1793.

I received your Favour, together with the printed Resolutions of your respectable Society, on the 11th. I did not arrive here only on the 10th at Night, not being able to leave Birmingham before that Day.

Please to inform your Society that I believe I may be able to establish a Society in this despotic Town—We have drawn up our Address, Declaration, Resolutions, and are ordered to be printed, which I hope will be done this Week.

We have adopted your last Resolutions, which you favoured me by the Post.

I will bring these printed with me to London, as I hope to visit your Society as soon as I can leave this Society in Safety.—They want strengthening, and will have a Public Meeting next Tuesday, and we expect much Opposition from the Corporation; and as I am chose President, I will wait to receive the Hire of this Ministerial Badge of Corruption.

I shall be glad if your Society could send an encouraging Letter to this infant Society by that Time.

I remain, with the greatest Regard and Esteem, your Society's Friend and Brother, labouring in the Field of Reform, unsolicited by any Party whatever.

I am, dear Citizen, in the greatest Sincerity and Truth, your Fellow Citizen, and Friend to the Human Race.

P. S. You will, no Doubt, exhort them to fear no Power of Corruption, let those Powers be ever so great, but to pursue the Reform with a manly and ready Perseverance, unitedly with every similar Institution in Great Britain; and let us not suffer our Society to perish, but rather let us all die together for the Good of our Brother Man; fearing no Persecution whatever on the Side of Corruption, or that Ministerial Vengeance can bring against those who are using their utmost Exertions in the common Cause of Freedom, or are promoting Love and Good Will to the Human Race.

N. B. I shall be obliged to you if you will be so obliging to provide a Room in some private Family for myself and Wife, at a moderate Expence.—I wish to be in London in Fourteen Days.

Draft of a Letter from the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society to Mr. Skirving.

Dear Sir, London, 5th October, 1793.

With Pleasure I peruse your Favour of the 2d Instant; but as yet have seen nor heard nothing of the Two Copies of Mr. Muir's Trial, which you mention as being sent to the Society, and to myself. Be kind

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kind enough, notwithstanding, to return that Gentleman Thanks for his polite Attention; and assure him, that we view him in the Light of a Martyr to Freedom, as well as Mr. Palmer; and that our warmest Hopes are, that the Oppressors of Mankind will either be ashamed or afraid of carrying their revengeful Malice into Execution.

The General Convention which you mention appears to Mr. Margarot (to whom alone I have communicated your Letter) and myself, to be a very excellent Measure; and as such I could wish you, without Delay, to communicate it officially to our Society, *without any Ways mentioning that you had written to me privately*. If in your official Letter you should require us to send a Deputation to that Meeting, I have no Doubt but our Society would with Pleasure accept the Invitation, and I am persuaded it may do much Good. Our Freedom, as you justly observe, depends entirely upon ourselves, and upon our availing ourselves of this Opportunity, *which once lost may not be so soon recovered*.—I am glad to discover by your Testimony that I was no Ways mistaken in the high Opinion I always had of Lord Daer's Patriotism. A Title may be a Bar to disinterested Patriotism, but, it seems, he has evinced it to be not an insuperable one.

You are right—it is true that we have had another General Meeting, at which a hastily composed and suddenly produced Address to the King was read, applauded, and agreed to be presented; but, on a cool Revision, the said Address being found to be more ill-natured than spirited, more dangerous in its Language than advantageous in its Object, besides being too long, the Committee, with the Approbation of the Majority of the Society, have adopted another, much safer, more apposite, and relating solely to the War. Enclosed you have a Copy of it. But you was misinformed when you was told we passed any Resolutions at that Meeting, for we only came to One, and that rather of a private Nature, namely, “That the Conduct of Sir James Sanderson, in preventing the Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at the Globe Tavern, Fleet Street, was of such a Nature as to place him *below our Censure*.”

I am, most sincerely,

Your Fellow Labourer and Well Wisher,

P. S. Mr. Margarot desires to be remembered to you in the most affectionate Manner. Do not in future, *on the Address of your Letter, mention any Thing of the (London Corresponding Society)*, for it was a Thousand to One that I recived that Letter by Post.

To Mr. Skirving, Edinburgh.

Copy of a Letter from Coventry to a Person in London.

Citizen ———,

Coventry, October 23d, 1793.

The Reason why I did not answer your Letter of last Week was this; I thought you would like to be informed how our Society was going on, therefore I Yesterday called a Meeting at Hewit's, which was last Night well attended, and several new Members admitted; and I am informed by

by some of the Members, that we shall have many more Candidates for Admission next Night. My Expectations of our Success in our new Enterprize becomes more sanguine than ever. I have received from Mr. ——— Two Letters, and a Parcel of their Publications, which I distributed last Night, likewise those which we received by you from the London Corresponding Society, for which our Society desired I would return their Thanks to Citizens ——— and ———. I intend to send inclosed in a Box To-morrow Evening, by Balloon Coach, about 50 more Copies of our Addresses to Citizen ———, in order that he may dispose of them among the different Divisions of the Corresponding Society; I shall likewise inclose a few addressed to Mr. ———, Secretary to the Constitutional Society, London, which we shall be obliged to you to present to him, and request him to sanction our Efforts in the Public Cause with their Correspondence.

I shall likewise send you your Umbrella, Carriage paid, by the Coach, To-morrow Evening.

Shall be obliged to Citizen ——— if he could favour us with a few more of their Publications, particularly their "Address to the Nation," and likewise a few of the Songs which begin with "God save the Rights of Man," &c.

I am, with Respects to Mrs. ———, &c.

Your sincere Friend and Fellow Citizen,

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary to the Constitutional Society at Sheffield to the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information.

Sheffield Committee Room of the Constitutional Society,

November 1st, 1793.

Sir,

Your Letter, and the Resolution of the Society for Constitutional Information in London, are this Moment delivered to me by Mr. Ashton, in Answer to which I sit down instantly to inform you that the Society has already transmitted its Sentiments to the Secretary of the Convention at Edinburgh, Mr. Skirving, and declined sending a Delegation for Reasons which I will transcribe in the Words of our Letter.—"That it would have given this Society the most heartfelt Satisfaction to have had a Delegation present at their approaching Convention, had we received timely Notice of their Wishes that it should be so—but it unfortunately happens, that all the Gentlemen belonging to the Society, which it would chuse for so important a Business, are so previously engaged in Affairs which they cannot possibly postpone in so short an Interval, that it is not in our Power to comply with their Requisition on the present Occasion.

"This Society are also of Opinion, that to give such a Measure its full Effect, it would be necessary that the other Societies in South Britain should have Communication with each other on the Subject, and be able to ascertain that Deputations would be sent from at least a Majority of the Societies in this Part of the Kingdom. And to evince
"that

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“that we should be happy to unite our Efforts with theirs in One firm and settled Plan, we assure them, that if they think proper to fix another Meeting in January or February, or any other Time which may be more agreeable, and give us immediate Notice thereof, and that they wish to see Delegates from the several Societies in this Part of the Kingdom, we will write to all those we are in Correspondence with, to get such a Delegation as may be truly respectable and important.”

The above Extract will evince to you, Sir, and the Society for Constitutional Information, how far your Proceedings meet with our Approbation. There is a worthy member of this Society, and of the Committee, and I believe also of the Committee of Twelve, admitted into your Society, Citizen Alcock, now in London, and I doubt not but he has, before this will reach you, given you the whole Information herein contained; but so scrupulously exact am I in answering every Letter on Public Business, that I will not trust to him, though I know he is particularly desirous of being introduced to you.

I was chosen Secretary, *pro tempore*, to answer the Letter from Mr. Skirving, and therefore continue the Office thus much farther, not to keep you in Suspense, as the Committee will not meet again before Wednesday next, and Two or Three of the Members, who have seen your Letter before I did, sent to request I would do so.

I cannot close this Letter without remarking, that all the Societies we are in Correspondence with have been remarkably remiss in their Communications for several Months past; to many we have addressed more than One or Two without receiving any Answers. This Society has been very active, and particularly in publishing, by which several *Individuals* have suffered considerably, as the Burthen has fallen chiefly on them. We have many Thousand Members, but a vast Majority of them being working Men, the War, which has deprived many of them of *all* Employment, and almost every One of *Half* his Earnings, we have been crippled more than any other in the Kingdom.—We have the Satisfaction to know that *we have done* great Good, but I fear we must content ourselves with *good Intentions* and Wishes in future, as our Funds are not only exhausted, but the Society is considerably in Debt, and that Debt must fall on a few who have stood forward on every Occasion with their Zeal, their active Efforts, and their Credit.

It appears to me that if the Societies do not become more active, and more united in their Efforts in the Time to come, what they have done hitherto will be rendered useless, and arbitrary Power will trample on all that is dear and valuable to Freemen. The Measures lately adopted in the Sister Kingdom, Measures as opposite to, and incompatible with a Free Constitution as Fire and Water, and since followed up by the most slavish and horrid Doctrines in the Courts in Scotland, have hitherto been viewed only with a Degree of Apathy by the great Bodies of the Kingdom, which we little Folks in the Country look up to for Examples, styling themselves Patriotic, such as “The Society for Constitutional Information in London,” “The Friends of the People, Ditto,” “The Friends to the Liberty of the Press,” that we begin almost to think here, it is Time to nip those Buds of Freedom which were beginning to blossom with so much Luxuriance, lest they should be exposed to the Danger of being blighted by those torpid Frosts which appear to have chilled every animating

animating Influence in those great Barriers which we looked to for Defence and Protection.

I assure you, my good Sir, nothing is further from my Intention than to give the smallest Offence—I am a staunch Democrat, and speak my Mind freely; and I hope you will consider what I have hinted at the Sapineness which appears at present to possess too great a Sway, as merely the Effect of that Warmth and Zeal for the great Cause we are both strenuous to support and forward, the Cause of Freedom and Parliamentary Reform. I am, with the greatest Respect,

S I R,

Your most obedient Servant,

Secretary, *pro Tempore*, to the
Constitutional Society, Sheffield.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary to the Constitutional Society at Leeds to the Secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information at London.

Sir,

Your's of the 29th I received, and laid it before the Committee of the Leeds Society on Monday the 4th of this Instant.

It is with great Satisfaction we read your Letter, and approve of your having elected your Delegates to serve upon such a laudable an Undertaking; but if you meant for the Leeds Society to adopt the same Measures, shall be glad if you will answer this immediately; as we are not acquainted with the Time of their Sitting we fear our Delegates would be too late.

I am, Sir, with great Respect,

Your Humble Servant,

Quarry Hill,
5th Nov. 1793.

Secretary to the Constitutional Society.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information at Birmingham to the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information at London.

Sir,

Your Favour of the 20th Ult. came safe to Hand, and was read in a Committee of the Society on Sunday Evening; and on first reading it obtained the Approbation of every Member present—This Society will, at all Times, concur with you in any Measure that may have a Tendency to hasten the Return of departed Liberty—Our Sentiments on that Subject are mutual with yours, and unchangeable.

The Object of the Mission of your Delegates being of the utmost Importance to the People of this Country, and so intimately connected with their dearest Interests, that One would imagine they would not hesitate a Moment in Support of the Measure, from a Consciousness that upon the Success of the Exertions of the Friends to Reform depends the Regeneration

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tion of Britain from a State of Slavery to a State of Freedom and Happiness; and the Exaltation of Burke's *Swinish Multitude* to the dignified Character of Freemen. We have only to regret that at present our Ability will not allow us to co-operate with you, by sending a Delegate ourselves, in consequence of Mr. Pitt's War of Humanity having almost utterly annihilated our Trade in this Town, and driven a great Number of our best Members and Mechanics across the Atlantic; and those that remain are but little better situated than the wretched Inhabitants of Flanders. However, upon the Whole, I believe it will be productive of Good, as it has tended greatly to abate the Pride, assuage the Malice, and confound many of the Devices of the Enemies to Reform, particularly among the Dons of *Church and King*. And, finally, it has made many Profelytes to the Cause of Liberty.

Please to accept our best Wishes to you and your Society; and permit me to remain, in the Name and Behalf of the Birmingham Society for Constitutional Information,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

Secretary.

To _____ Secretary
to the Society for Constitutional
Information, London.

Nov. 6th, 1793.

P. S. Shall be glad to hear from you on all Occasions.

*Copy of a Letter from Coventry to the Secretary of the Society for
Constitutional Information.*

Sir,

In Answer to your Favour of the 29th of October, containing a Copy of your Resolutions of the 28th, relative to the Election of Delegates, I am desired by our Society to communicate to the Society for Constitutional Information, London, their Approbation of a Measure which we conceive peculiarly calculated to accelerate the Acquisition of the Object proposed.

I am,

Sir,

Your humble Servant,

Secretary.

Coventry,

Nov. 19th, 1793.

Copy

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Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society to Norwich.

London Corresponding Society, Nov. 23d, 1793.

Fellow Citizens,

You have been already informed, by the Correspondence subsisting between the respective Divisions of the Patriotic Societies in England and Scotland, of the Convention called and now sitting at Edinburgh for the Purpose of obtaining a speedy and radical Reform in the System of Parliamentary Representation; and you are also in Possession of the Circumstances of our having sent Two Delegates (———) to represent our increasing Society in that respectable Assembly. The Society for Constitutional Information also elected Two Representatives (———) the latter only of whom has gone to Scotland for the Discharge of his important Mission.

Citizens, the Object of our present Letter is to inform you of the important Communications which our Mission has already produced. The Spirit and Resolution it has diffused through the respective Societies in Scotland—the rapid Increase of the avowed Friends of Liberty, which has already made its Appearance, and the Prospects which have been opened before us of the most complete Union, the most determined Perseverance, the most active Exertion in every Constitutional Measure, *that can be devised for the Recovery of our Rights, and the complete Renovation of the Liberties and Happiness, which as Men we are entitled to, and, as Britons, we have been taught to expect.* An Increase of Affection, of Zeal, of Confidence; a Concert of permanent Union; a free Communication and Comparison of Sentiments and Intentions; mature Deliberation and mutual Reliance—these are the Fruits of the wise and spirited Measures adopted by the Friends of Liberty in Scotland, and seconded by the Societies of London and of Ireland.

Britons, and Fellow Citizens! let us rouse you to immediate Co-operation with these Efforts for the general Good, — let us awake you to a Sense of the Importance of the present Moment, and persuade you, persuade all the Patriotic Societies in England, to strengthen immediate Junction with this grand Federation;—that as those who are hostile to our Freedom are already united by Compacts, Interests, and Coalitions, the Friends also of that glorious Principle may be bound together by a Link more firm, more intimate, and more durable, to resist every Oppression and Usurpation that may be attempted, and vindicate the “Rights of Man.”

The Society at Norwich has already, in some Degree, imitated our Example: For though Time and Convenience did not permit them to elect a separate Delegate, they have sent a written Authority to Citizen ——— to act for them in that Capacity, together with Instructions to enable him to state their Sentiments to the Convention, and Directions for him to correspond with them, and render their Fraternity more complete.

Citizens! Permit us to unite our Voices with those of our Brethren in the North, to request you, by some such Method (if you cannot render it convenient immediately to send a Delegate of your own) to assist

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the closer Union and more immediate Communication of their respective Societies.—Persuaded as we are that the Friends of Liberty, if encouraged by the Conviction of general Union to step forward and avow their Sentiments, are already so numerous and respectable as to ensure a speedy Termination of the Calamities of an unjustifiable War, and a Restoration of every Right to which Britons and Freemen are entitled :

We are, in the firm Assurance of your Zeal and Sincerity in the Cause of Liberty, your affectionate Fellow Citizens.

P. S. I received your Letter, and I sent it to Edinburgh according to your Direction.

APPENDIX, F. No. 1.

Sheffield, Committee Room of the Constitutional Society,

May 27th, 1792.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Committee of this Society to acknowledge the Receipt of your's of the 10th Current, and of the Caledonian Chronicle, of the same Date, containing the Resolutions of the Convention of Delegates from the Friends of the People throughout Scotland—of which this Committee and the Society also, to which they have been read at the several District Meetings, highly approve.

This Committee did not answer your former Letter, because they were unwilling to put you to any unnecessary Expence of Postage, especially as no Alteration *could* then be made in the subject Matter thereof. Any Communication which you may be pleased to favour this Society with, will be certain to come to Hand (barring Accidents) if directed generally to Mr. ——— at ——— Church Lane, Sheffield. Though we have never had any Miscarriage of Letters which were directed to the Secretary of the Constitutional Society, yet that Addition may perhaps be as well left out.—As to a proper Chanel; if the Parcel is at any Time *very bulky and weighty*, the Waggon will be best; but if a moderate Size, it will come quicker by the Coach: And the Committee will be very glad to receive Accounts of Proceedings so ably and patriotically conducted.

The Committee beg Leave to recommend to the Convention, and through its Members to the several Societies, to patronize and promote as much as possible the Circulation of that most useful periodical Work, The Patriot, which certainly contains Abundance of truly important political Information, and has done the most essential Service to the Cause of Freedom and of the People in this Part of the Island.

I am desired to express the *particular Approbation* of this Committee, and Society also, of the Second Resolution of the Convention, viz. “That the Motion to discontinue their Meetings when the Petitions, &c. are presented, &c. is suspicious and insidious, &c. &c.”

To shew how Men, possessing the same Principles, will at the greatest Distance coincide and jump, as it were, into the same Sentiments, and Expression of them, I beg Leave to send you a short Extract from the Address of our President, Mr. ——— at our last *General Meeting*, which was taken in Short Hand, and which the Committee hope they shall prevail on him to publish, as it is replete with Political Information, interesting Anecdotes, and animated Elocution.

“You have no Doubt, Fellow Citizens, all heard the Fate of the Petition so lately sent from this Town and Neighbourhood for a Parliamentary Reform; and I should suppose that the unjust, indecent, and insolent Manner in which it has been rejected, and opposed Admission into the House of Commons by the Satellites of Ministers, must have convinced you clearly, that the great Cause for the Support of which we have associated, demands our never ceasing Vigilance and Attention.

“ A Reform in Parliament is almost *universally* allowed to be essentially necessary to the Preservation of this Country. And as that great and important Event can never be brought about but by *the powerful Interposition of the great Body of the People*, no lawful Means should be left unassayed to remove the almost innumerable Impediments which lie in the Way to obstruct and prevent so desirable a Communication. The Enemies to a Reform are a very active, numerous, and powerful Body in almost every Neighbourhood, and never fail to unite on the smallest Appearance of any Circumstance which they conceive may be prejudicial to the corrupt and baneful System that has too long prevailed, and which it is so much their Interest to continue.

“ Our common Enemies, I say, form an active, jealous, powerful, and well-disciplined Phalanx, long enured to every possible Mode of Attack which can be made upon them—thoroughly skilled in the Science of Defence—but more particularly so in circumventing and smothering every Attempt that may be made against them while in its Infancy, and before it can arrive at the Power of doing them Harm—witness the various Attempts to discountenance, calumniate, and, if possible, to annihilate Constitutional Societies, The Patriot, and all Publications similar to it; as in these they see, with terrified Aspects, the future Saviours of the People, and their dearest Rights; with an all-grasping and domineering Aristocratic Influence, possessing the greatest Share of the Landed Property; with the Purse of the Nation at their Command, and their Eyes ever fixed on this ruling Maxim, “ *Divide et impera*,” they may be almost thought to be invincible, and nothing can avail against their Efforts, but equal Zeal, Discipline, Activity, and strict Adherence together of the Friends of the People, and of the Cause of Freedom.

“ You see then, Citizens, that, (that) it particularly behoves us not to sleep upon our Posts. The Heavenly Cherub Liberty is in Danger of being annihilated and destroyed by a Torrent of Influence and Corruption unexampled in the Annals of the World. It is Time, therefore, for all true Lovers of their Country to exert every Effort to preserve and cherish that (that) inestimable Blessing, deprived of which, both Life and Property, by being rendered precarious and uncertain, become but secondary Considerations. In this most laudable of all Pursuits, that of promoting and forwarding the public Welfare, it becomes the peculiar Duty of every One of us to contribute all in our Power, by public and private Advice and Exhortation, to prevent his Fellow Labourers in this glorious Vineyard from lagging in so momentous, though perhaps so arduous a Work; but let us remember that our brave and hardy Ancestors often fought and bled at every Vein, to transmit to us undiminished, a fair and unspotted Inheritance to a Constitution—the Base, Summit, and Centre of which was founded and composed of *Freedom*; a Constitution which they raised by their Valour, supported by their Virtue and Wisdom, and cemented with their Blood.

“ The Ravager Time, the unsuspicious Nature of some of our Forefathers, added to their Supineness and Neglect, with other unfortunate Circumstances on one Hand, and on the other the gradual but never-ceasing Endeavours to undermine and subvert the noble

Edifice,

Edifice, by every insidious and unperceived Art and Machination that base and interested Men could devise—these Sycophants of Courts—the venal Hirelings and Male Prostitutes, who feed and fatten without Remorse on the Spoil and Plunder of their industrious and oppressed Countrymen—these political Esays, who would sell their Country and its Liberties for a Mess of Pottage, have brought us to the very Brink of Ruin, and the Verge of Slavery; and wishing to delude us with the Forms of the Constitution, have gone nigh to sap and destroy every Prop and Pillar by which the Constitution itself is in reality supported.

“Be it ours, however, to keep in Mind, that there is not in the whole Range of Human Nature so degraded and despicable a Sight as that of a Nation, a People who were once free, having degenerated into Slaves; and let us not ever forget, that notwithstanding we of the present Day did not receive perfect Freedom from our *immediate Forefathers*, we still know that we have a just *Claim* to it; that it is our Duty to prosecute that Claim before our Adversaries shall have the Insolence to plead Prescription as a Bar to it. Though the *Possession* is not in us, the *Right* is, and we are bound to assert that Right, and transmit it clear of all Incumbrances to our Posterity. What! shall we unremittingly prosecute our Claim, and start indignant at the idea of being robbed, or unjustly deprived of a paltry Cottage, or a few Acres of dirty Land; and shall we tamely and basely surrender those important Rights and Privileges which are more valuable than all the Acres that one man ever possessed? Forbid it, Consistency! Forbid it, Justice! Forbid it, Heaven!

“But how, it may be asked, how are we to prosecute our Claims? How are we to recover those Rights of which we have been surreptitiously deprived? I answer, by our Fortitude and Unanimity—By an inflexible Perseverance in *demanding* those Rights which no Power on Earth is entitled to withhold from us. A Reform in Parliament, I repeat, is absolutely necessary to save this Country from Ruin. I will tell you why,” &c.—He then gives a Display of the defective state of Representation; shews, that as Things are now situated, no Administration, however inclined to do so, can govern according to the true Principles of Justice and sound Policy, and the real Interests of the People, *from the undue Influence of the Crown*. Describes the Double Cabinet in a very severe Strain of Animadversion; takes Notice, that the only Argument attempted to be urged against the Measure, is the Impropriety of the Time; and on every Occasion, since its first being hazarded in 1692, the same Bugbear has been uniformly opposed to it. “But let me ask these Men, what is a proper Time? In Times of Peace; in Times of War; in Times of financial Depression; in Times of Prosperity; though the Necessity of it was always admitted, still the Time was improper. When Mr. Grey, in the last Session, gave Notice of his intended Motion on this Head, though we had been just before represented by the Apostate Pitt, in all the Glare of his didactic Pompotity, to be at that Moment in a state of unexampled Prosperity, yet then the Time was improper.

“In the Year 1764, after the Conclusion of the War, this Country was equally prosperous, and ranked infinitely higher in point of

Consequence amongst the Nations of Europe, when we were feared and courted by every Power in it, then, also, the Time was improper; we were afterwards involved in a ruinous and expensive War with America, which drained this Country of its Citizens and its Treasures, loaded us with an Accumulation of Taxes we were hardly able to bear, was prosecuted contrary to the Wishes of the Nation, and Parliament still voting Supplies out of the People's Pockets. The System of Corruption was obvious, clear as the Sun at Noon Day, yet still it was not proper to agitate a Reform: Notwithstanding it was at the same Time granted, that if a Reform had been made in the Year 1764, all those subsequent notorious Evils would have been prevented.

“ The plain Truth of the Matter is this—in the Eye of Ministers and their Followers, in the Eye of Placemen, Pensioners, and the almost innumerable Host of the greedy and voracious Bloodsuckers and Devourers of the Spoil and Plunder of the People, no Time is proper. The Argument is a stale worn out Trick of every Minister, and every venal Tool who supports him. Charles Townshend used to say, Petitions to this Effect were improper at *Two Seasons*; the Season of War, and the Season of Peace. In Peace, because they tended to disturb the *general Tranquillity*; and in War, because Ministers had sufficient Employment for their Abilities without being troubled with Petitions: In this Avowal of a Minister there is certainly some *Honesty*; but much more of what the Irish term *modest Assurance*, or what a blunt Briton calls *downright Impudence*.

“ The same fallacious and delusive Argument is made use of at the present Moment; and those very Apostates, who contended most warmly and vehemently, that a Reform in Parliament was absolutely necessary to save the Constitution, in 1785, have now the barefaced Effrontery to assert, that it is *at present*, not only unseasonable, but *absolutely unnecessary*—Citizens, reflect on this; be no longer deceived; convince yourselves first that it is the necessary, and then determine resolutely, and like Englishmen worthy of their glorious Ancestors, that in *Matters of Moment there is no Time like the present*.”

Thus ended a Speech of near Two Hours, which convinced the Society of the absolute Necessity there is to be more active and assiduous in the great Cause we are engaged to support. It is remarkable, that at this Meeting a Motion was made to discontinue our Monthly Meetings, and to have them only Once in Three Months, which was reprobated by the President, and scouted by the Society as *suspicious* and *insidious*; and the Society has greatly increased every Day since.

The enclosed Paper has had a very good Effect in Manchester and this Place, where it has been well circulated: and as Mr. Dundas has had the consummate Effrontery to say in St. Stephen's, that War *is not the Cause* of the present National Distress, this Committee think too much Pains cannot be taken to convince the People *that it is*. They therefore submit it to your Consideration, whether it may not be adviseable to re-print and circulate it in your Town and Neighbourhood.

In the Name, and by Order of the Committee, I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) ——— Secretary.

Addressed, Mr. Wm. Skirving, Edinburgh.

A P P E N D I X F.

No. 2.

Delegate Meeting of the Constitutional Society, Leeds,

Sir,

May, 29th, 1793.

By Request of the Sheffield Society, and having received Directions from them for the Purpose of corresponding with all the Societies in England and Scotland :

We, the Members of the Constitutional Society in Leeds, in order to obtain the desired End of Parliamentary Reform, desire fraternal Communication with the Society of Edinburgh.

We shall be glad of any Information or Instruction in your Power on all Occasions; and hope you will find the Leeds Society always faithful to the Interests of the People; and though they are but few, not exceeding Two Hundred, they are Men, and are determined to exert their utmost in order to instruct their Neighbours on their common Interests.

With this we send you a Copy of our Address and Declaration, and shall ever acknowledge all Favours from you.

Wishing the Cause we have embarked in every Degree of Success, I remain, in the Name and by Order of the Society,

Sir, Yours, &c.

Addressed "To the Secretary of the Constitutional Society, "Edinburgh," and on the Back "To Mr. William Skirving, Edinburgh, Scotland."

No. 3.

Free Masons Tavern, Saturday the 18th of May, 1793.

At a General Meeting of the Society of the Friends of the People, associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, held this Day.

— — — in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the Thanks of this Society be returned to the Convention of Delegates at Edinburgh, for their Zeal and Activity in the Cause of Parliamentary Reform, and to express a Hope and Wish that they will proceed with the same Spirit, Industry, and Temper, during the Interval between the present Time, and the Meeting of the next Session of Parliament.

In Name, and by Order of the Society,

— — — Chairman.

No. 4.

Sir,

I have the Honour to enclose you a Copy of the Resolution of Thanks to the Convention of Delegates at Edinburgh from the Friends of the People in London, and beg you will communicate the same to the various Societies with which you correspond in Scotland.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

— — — Secretary to the Committee.

No. 5.

Sir,

The Speech I sent is not the Property of this Society, but in Compliance with the Request contained in your Letter I have applied to the

A P P E N D I X F.

the Proprietor, who gives you full Permission to re-print it, and distribute as many as you think proper. Your Conduct on this Occasion must give Satisfaction to every Friend of Reform.

When I again meet with any Thing good and short, I will certainly send it to you. I suppose you have seen William Fox's Pamphlets; they are very short, and extremely good indeed, particularly that against the War.

The Plan of Delegates would be very improper in this Country at present. A very small Part of it indeed would be active for Reform; if such a Meeting is attempted, it will operate, like many rash Steps of some who wish well to the Cause, much to its Disadvantage.

I thank you for the Parcel of Minutes which is come to Hand, and remain,

July 23d, 1793.

Your's, &c.

Addressed,

William Skirving, Esq; Edinburgh.

No. 6.

Dear Sir,

On Saturday last I received a Copy of Mr. Palmer's Trial, and on Monday several Copies of Mr. Muir's, which I have ordered to be disposed of as directed. I had read both before—I shall bind them with Paine's Trial, and I return you and Mr. Muir Thanks for them. I think Mr. Palmer's Case, in some Respects, still more extraordinary than Mr. Muir's.—Is it a Crime to advise Prudence and Moderation?

Be so kind as to desire Mr. Scott to send regularly the Edinburgh Gazetteer to me, under Cover to C. Grey, Esq; M. P.—Let him charge it either to me or the Society, and I will pay for it at such Times and in such Manner as he desires.

I hope none of the Violence which has done Mischief to the Cause of Reform in England will be imported into the Scottish Convention.

The Conduct of the Friends to Reform in Scotland has always been admired, and I hope their Prudence and Moderation will be continued.

October 29th, 1793.

I am, &c.

Addressed,

Mr. W. Skirving, Opposite the Foot of the Old
Assembly Close, Edinburgh.

No. 7.

Fellow Citizens,

London, November 8th, 1793.

I duly received your Favour of the 4th Instant, and laid it before the Committee of Delegates last Night, who were anxiously waiting for Intelligence from Edinburgh, and were well satisfied with the agreeable Account of the great Number and Zeal of the Friends of Freedom in Scotland.—That Part of your Letter which mentioned your visiting different Towns in Scotland, for the Purpose of promoting the Cause—they were pleased with the Idea, but they thought that it could not be put in Practice on Account of the necessary Supplies, which come in but very slowly—it is to be mentioned in the different Divisions.—We have elected — — (by Ballot) Chair-

man

man of the Committee for the Remainder of the Quarter—we have also appointed a Committee of Constitution, separate from the Committee of Delegates—One Member is chose from each Division, to meet on this Night for the First Time, and to be totally unconnected with the Committee of Delegates.—We still increase in Number—and the Address to the King, to put an End to the War, is ordered to be advertised to receive Signatures—in the Courier, Chronicle, Eyer's Sunday Gazetteer, afterwards by Hand Bills, &c. We have opened a Correspondence with a new Society at ———. I have to inform you of the Wish of the Society, that you would favour them with the Number of Delegates in the Convention, and the Number from England also, and how the Civil and Military Power relishes your Meeting. And that you would send such a Report from the Convention as might appear in the Newspapers in London. Send me an Edinburgh Gazetteer, when there is any Thing in it of Importance. I would have sent you a Courier, but they informed me that they sent several to the Coffee Houses and Taverns in Edinburgh, for that Reason I thought it unnecessary. I hope to have more Time to write to you more fully next Time. As ——— says the Post is just going off, no more at present from

———— Secretary.

Addressed,

Mr. Margarot, and Mr. Gerald, Delegates from London.

No. 8.

To the Members of the Scotch Convention.

Worthy Sirs,

The Notice we have had of your different Meetings, being so late as not conveniently to allow of our Election of a Delegate to join your Assembly, I take the Freedom to communicate a few Lines in the Name of the Society. Our Congratulations are your Due for the spirited Manner in which you have shewn yourselves the Advocates and Promoters of Reformation: You, Citizens, have deserved well of your Country, and your Conduct is the Subject of our Applause—the strong Sentiments you have imbibed are the Objects of our Admiration. Our minds particularly embrace the Doctrines of the Right of Universal Suffrage, of the Necessity of Annual Returns, and of adopting these Principles into a definitely worded Constitutional Code, alterable only by the Expression of the General Will of the British People, properly taken.

We doubt not of your Sentiments of Fraternity towards the Patriots of our Town, whose Desire is to promote Universal Information and Universal Liberty.

The All-wise Father of Men prosper your Undertakings,

————
Secretary to the Leeds Constitutional Society,

Leeds, Nov. 18th, 1793.

pro Tempore.

Addressed,

Mr. William Skirving, Edinburgh.

No. 9.

Sir,

I have the Satisfaction to inform you, that the Delegates from the Societies in London have, at Length, arrived at Edinburgh. Delegates from the other Societies in England, and who are now upon the Road, will soon also be here to wait upon the *Friends of the People*, in order to establish an *indissoluble Fraternity* between the Two Nations, and to adopt those Measures which at this *awful Period* may have a Tendency to save the Country.

Solemnly pledged as you are to a common and just Cause, no Hardship and no Expence can be thought too great for you, while you are conscious that you are discharging your Duty. With no Propriety can you refuse to attend upon your Brethren from England, who, at so much Expence, and from so great a Distance, have come to unite their Affections and Deliberations with you.

I feel it my Duty, in Coincidence with the Sentiments of the General Committee here, again to recal the Societies by their Delegates to this Place. Every Moment is precious, and Delay is synonymous to Treachery.

I expect therefore, Sir, to have the Honour of seeing you on the 19th Current in the *General Convention of the Delegates*, in Compliance with the public Advertisement, which I was bound to insert in my official Capacity, in the *Gazetteer* of Yesterday, to which I entreat your particular Attention.

If you cannot possibly attend, it will be proper to call the Committee of your Society to appoint One or Two in your Place. No Exertion on the Part of a Friend should be wanting at this *important Crisis* to render this Convention still more respectable; and none who have the Cause at Heart, and discern how much is at Stake, will be remiss.

Let it be our ardent Prayer to God, that his Wisdom may direct their Measures, and that his Benediction may attend the Execution of them.

I have the Honour to be, Sir, your most obedient Servant,
WILLIAM SKIRVING, Secretary.

Edinburgh, Nov. 7th, 1793.

Extracts from the Minutes of the General Convention of the Friends of the People, held at Edinburgh, and of their General Committee, convened in consequence of the Arrival of the English Delegates, and of Citizens Hamilton Rowan and Simon Butler from Ireland, as mentioned in the foregoing Narrative.

19th Oct. 1793.

In the First Day's Sitting of the Convention, Mr. C— moved, "That this Convention resolve to claim for themselves and their Constituents, the Right of Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments."

At the same Sitting a Letter was read from the Four United Societies of Ireland:

"Mr. Skirving read the Thanks of the General Meeting of the Friends of the People at Free Masons Tavern, dated London, 18th May,

May 1793, as returned by them to the Convention of Delegates at Edinburgh, for their Zeal and Activity in the Cause of Parliamentary Reform. He also read a similar Letter from Mr. ———, dated London, 5th October 1793, another dated London, 25th October 1793, respecting the Appointment of Messrs. Margarot and Gerald.

“Mr. Skirving next read a Letter from Mr. ——— Secretary to the Association at London, dated Frith Street, No. 7, October 16th 1793.

“Mr. ——— read a Letter from the Constitutional Society at Sheffield, dated 27th May 1793, and signed ——— Secretary, upon the whole Objects of Reform in general, containing some humorous Remarks on the Arguments advanced by the Enemies of Reform, which were received with great Approbation.—Mr. Skirving next read the printed Paper contained in the said Letter, addressed to the unemployed Artisans, &c. of Manchester, and containing a Number of excellent Remarks upon the Calamities of War; signed—Sidney.”

6th Nov. 1793.

In the General Committee it appears, that a Citizen, One of the Edinburgh Delegates, having moved that the London Delegates should state the Situation of their Societies, Citizen Margarot answered, “That the Societies in London were very numerous, though sometimes fluctuating. In some Parts of England whole Towns are Reformers; Sheffield, and Environs there, 50,000.—In Norwich there are 30 Societies in One.—If we could get a Convention of England and Scotland called, we might represent Six or Seven Hundred Thousand Males, which is a Majority of all the Adults in the Kingdom; and Ministry would not dare to refuse us our Rights.”

Citizen Butler, from Ireland, then said, “He did not know how far he was at Liberty to say any Thing, as he was not a Delegate; but he would give an Account of Ireland: The executive Part of the Government were almost omnipotent; the landed Interest almost aristocratic; the Manufacturer idle.—Last Parliament was expected to have given Ireland Emancipation; however that Prospect was flattering, a few Weeks changed the Scene.—An infamous Coalition took place between the Opposition and Ministry; the Catholics retired with what they had got.—No longer opposed by them, the Government turned their oppressive Measures against the Friends of Reform.—The United Irishmen were prosecuted; he himself had experienced Six Months Imprisonment.—Belfast was declared to be in a state of Rebellion—though Freedom was not cried up in the Streets, yet it dwelt in almost every Heart. Universal Emancipation was the Measure for which he was an Advocate.—All that he knew of the Country was, that the first Day his Friend was in Edinburgh he was arrested, for nothing that he knew, except it was for being so wicked as to come here.—In Scotland they yet met in Convention; in Ireland the Parliament had enacted Laws against it.—When a Law like that should take place here, he was afraid Freedom would vanish.”

Mr. C—— said, “That he hoped those that would pass such an Act of Parliament should be forced to eat it; and hoped that Scotland and England should not submit to it.”

Citizen

Citizen Gerald said, "That he came here armed with the Power of Delegation—If our Neighbour's House is on Fire, the greater should be our Vigilance to prevent the Flames seizing our own—A Parchment Piece of Justice had been presented in Ireland; he hoped that if ever it was passed here, we should throw it in the Face of our Oppressors. Every Thing the People had gained had been through Conventions—the Revolution was the Consequence of a Convention;—The Revolution established that Trust abused was revocable—the Revolution excluded all Placemen and Pensioners—do we enjoy any Benefit from that Act? It made Ministers responsible—how many bad Ministers have we seen go down to the Grave in peace, and honoured with all the Dignities a King can confer!—Union would carry our Principles into Execution—A Citizen from Ireland told you, that as soon as the Alarm Bell was rung, the Opposition joined the Minister—Party is ever a Bird of Prey, and the People their Banquet."

19th November, 1793.

On the first Day's Sitting of the Convention after it was resumed, Mr. Margarot moved,—“That previous to publishing an Address to the Public, a Committee be forthwith appointed to consider the Means, and draw up the Outlines of a Plan of general Union and Co-operation between the Two Nations in their Constitutional Pursuit of a thorough Parliamentary Reform,” which was unanimously agreed to.

The Minutes of the Second Day's Sitting bear,—That Citizen Gerald “vindicated the Plan of Divisions, as tending to enable the “Convention to make up their Minds upon the Business to come before them”—Mr. Margarot vindicated the Plan as tending to shorten the Business of the Convention, and insisted that the familiar Intercourse that would take place in these Divisions, would be the chief Use of them.

“—Another Delegate shewed the Necessity and Importance of the *Plan of Organization*, and insisted that the Divisions were necessary, and that the Loss of a Day or Two was of no Consideration, compared with the Magnitude of the Object.”

“Mr. Margarot promised, in Name of himself and his Colleagues from England, that they would grudge no Time to execute with Propriety the important Business they were come upon.”

“The Delegate from Sheffield rose to remove any remaining Objections that might be made against the Plan. He urged, that the grand Point in raising a good Superstructure was to lay a good Foundation; to do which no Time should be grudged; and shewed the great Utility of the Plan in the Nomination of Committees.”

“And the Convention were accordingly divided into Divisions, and Places appointed for their Meetings.”

Mr. Margarot, of new, moved, “That a Committee be appointed to consider of and draw up a proper Plan of Union between the Two Nations, according to the Resolution of Yesterday.”

In the Sitting of the 21st of November, in consequence of Reports from the different Sections, a Committee of Thirteen was chosen to form an Union upon Mr. Margarot's Plan.

In the same Meeting Gerald stated, “That to honest Men nothing was so valuable as Truth, and that nothing can possibly tend so much

to the Disclosure of Truth as Discussion and Deliberation. That it was also very important that the Committee should know as much as possible of the Public Mind, in order that they might act in Union with it. The Convention then resolved itself into a Committee upon the Motion of Mr. ——— and many valuable Hints were thrown out by Citizens: * * * * * Gerald observed, that whatever Difference of Opinion might exist in these Walls, we can never forget that our Friends and our Enemies are in common, and that our Object is equally the same. He took a Review of the Means we are to use in order to secure our Object. He entered fully into the Subject of universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments. He fully proved the Rights of the People to these Benefits by their ancient Constitution. He minutely investigated the Principles of Government. He asserted, that the End of all Government is the Good of the governed; that if Money be taken out of his Pocket against his Consent, it is of little Consequence whether it be taken by the Robber on the Heath, or the Monarch on the Throne. He made many Remarks upon the Revolution Settlement, and the Benefits gained by the last Revolution, and demonstrated clearly, that *they are now totally taken away.* He warned the Convention against the Choice of any other than known and plain Men like themselves, Men uncontaminated by the pestilential Air of Courts."

A Delegate from London, during this Day's Sitting, in Absence of ———, a Scots Delegate, "gave in the Continuation of the Committee's Report respecting the Election of Presidents; of Three Assistants, One to go out daily; and respecting the Council of the Table." He likewise proposed, "That the whole Reports of the Committee should be delayed till the Report was completed, and urged as a Reason for Delay, that * * * was employed in completing the Report of the Committee."

The Fifth Day's Sitting, Convention Hall, November 23d, 1793.

Citizen Gerald appointed Chairman.

"Citizen having read the Minutes of last Sitting, the President stated, That this Morning he had received a Letter from our Friends in Norwich, who desired him to inform the Convention, that they remained steady in the Cause, and had nominated Citizen Margarot their Delegate, and that they would contribute their Share of the Expences attending the Convention. Mr. Margarot accordingly accepted of the Office, who congratulated the Convention upon the Accession of such a great Number of Friends."

During this sitting there is the following Motion, "It was moved, that from thenceforth the Convention should be styled *The British Convention of the Delegates of the People*, associated to obtain Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments," agreed to unanimously. Also this other Motion, "A Motion was also made for the Convention allowing the Members of the United Society of Irishmen to speak and vote here." —

"Referred to the Sections," * * * * * Citizens, who were Country Delegates, "requested Leave of Absence, which was granted, upon Condition that they would do their utmost to send Delegates in their Place."

In the same Sitting there are the following Motions, viz.

" Motion by Mr. *** respecting *dividing the Country into Departments, and appointing Provincial Conventions*, whereby they may become more acquainted with each others Sentiments."

" *Referred to the Committee of Union.*"

" Motion by ***, containing Thanks to the Movers of the Division into Classes, mentioning the Advantages already obtained from it, and requesting a fresh Shuffle. Referred to the Committee of Regulations, and agreed that the Members of Societies in Edinburgh join the Sections"—and this Day's Sederunt closes as follows: " The President warned the Sections to meet as full as possible on Monday."

" Citizen ***'s Motion, relative to admitting the Members of the United Society of Irishmen to speak and vote in this Convention, came forward for Discussion, when Citizens ——— spoke upon it, and agreed to and guaranteed by a solemn Joining of Hands—it being followed by a Motion for transmitting the above Resolution to Citizen Archibald Hamilton Rowan, which was passed accordingly."

" Secretary Skirving stated, that he had just now received Five Shillings from an unknown Hand for the Use of the Convention; honourable Mention was ordered to be made of this patriotic Donation."

" A Motion made by * * * * * respecting the Appointment of an interim Committee at the End of every Convention, to call together the *Delegates on extraordinary Emergencies*."

At the Close of this Meeting, the Convention being divided into Sections, a Delegate moved, " That the Motions should be laid before the Sections, and desired the *Council of the Table* to condescend on these that were to be first discussed."

Seventh Day's Sitting 26th November, 1793.

After Debate, an original Motion was referred to the " Committee of Finance."

" Ordered, That the Convention shall cause a regular Set of Books to be kept for the Insertion of Minutes, Motions, and other Proceedings; a Book of Finance, &c. to be at all Times subject to the Inspection of an intermediate Committee."

" All these Motions were ordered to lie over to be considered by the Sections."

" Mr. ———'s Motion being taken under Consideration, Amendments were proposed by Citizens * * * * *"

" Mr. Margarot pled for adopting the Spirit of Mr. ———'s Motion; but thought it would be more advantageous to postpone adopting it till the Conclusion of the Convention's Business."

" Moved by Mr. Margarot, That a Committee, consisting of the Mover, Seconder, and those who had moved for Amendments of Mr. ———'s Motion, be appointed to draw up a Motion from the Whole, that may probably meet the Ideas of the whole Convention—After some Conversation, it was agreed upon, on the Motion of Mr. ***; that the Vote of the House be put; 1st, on the Spirit of Mr. ———'s Motion; 2dly, on the Words of the Motion; and 3dly, on Mr. Margarot's Motion." Agreed.—" The Sense of the House being taken

on

on the First, It carried unanimously, to adopt the Motion as to the Spirit of it.—On the 2nd, It carried by a great Majority, not to adopt the Motion as so worded—and 3dly, It was resolved, that the said Motion, and all Amendments, be referred as above.”

Convention Hall, 28th November, 1793. Ninth Day's Sitting.

Citizen * * * in the Chair.

“ Citizen * * * read the Amendments upon Citizen ———'s Motion, as agreed upon by the Committee; and it was agreed, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee for its mature Consideration.”—In the Course of the Conversation, Citizen * * * gave a History of the Habeas Corpus Act.—After an excellent Discussion of the Question, pertinent Remarks, and Amendments, the Convention was resumed, and the Whole, as amended, being read over, the Members stood upon their Feet, and passed the Resolution unanimously, as follows.

[Here a Blank is left in the Minutes, as mentioned in the Report.]

After the said Resolution was agreed to and solemnly approved of as above, the Minutes import, “ That Citizen Gerald, in an energetic and animated Speech, addressed the Meeting, and expressed his Happiness at the Motion passed; and exposed the Act of the Irish Parliament, called a Convention Bill—and Citizen * * * followed him in a manly Speech, and proved the Influence of the Executive Government over the Parliament.”

Citizen Margarot read and proposed the following Motion: “ That a Secret Committee of Three, with the Secretary, be appointed to determine the Place where such Convention of Emergency shall meet; that such Place shall remain a Secret with them, and with the Secretary of this Convention; and that each Delegate shall, at the breaking up of the present Session, be entrusted with a sealed Letter, containing the Name of the Place of Meeting; that this Letter shall be delivered unopened to his Constituents, the Receipt of which shall be acknowledged by a Letter to the Secretary—preserved in the same State until the Period shall arrive at which it shall be deemed necessary for the Delegates to set off. This Motion was seconded by * * *, and the same passed unanimously. Accordingly the following Citizens were nominated a Secret Committee upon this Business, viz. Margarot, * * * * *, with the Secretary; and they were requested to devise the best possible Means of conveying this Intimation to those Societies whose Views are the same with ours, but may not have Delegates at this Time.”

The Minutes of this Day's Sitting close with a Variety of Motions; and amongst others the following, by Citizen * * *, and seconded by Citizen * * *, “ That a Fund be raised by Subscription for defraying the Expence of small patriotic Publications, to be distributed in the Highlands. Every Publication shall bear the Figure of a Highland Man in full Dress, with Target and Broad Sword, to attract the Attention of Highlandmen. No Publication to cost more than Half a Penny.”

By Citizens * * *, “ That a Committee be appointed to draw up a Declaration of the natural, unalienable, and unprescriptable Rights of Man; and that the same be prefixed to an Address to the People of Great Britain.”

And,

And, "That a Committee of Observation be appointed in London, to give the earliest Intimation of any Motion of the Kind *mentioned in the foregoing Resolution to the different Societies.*"

Convention Hall, First Year of the British Convention, 29th Nov.
Anno Domini 1793.—Tenth Day's Sitting.

Citizen * * * in the Chair.

"Citizen Margarot gave in the Report of the Committee of Regulations; which was ordered to be printed, and Copies to be given in to the *Sections* on Monday, for their Consideration."

"The Secretary read * * *'s Motion for a *Committee of Observation* to be appointed in London. Citizen Margarot stated, That there was no Occasion for a Committee of that Nature in London, as there were several Thousands of People in that City upon the Look-out. It was accordingly agreed, *That the Convention should request the London Committee of Correspondence to give the earliest Intelligence of what passed in Parliament.*"

"A Letter from a Friend, &c. which had been transmitted to A. Scott, of the *Gazetteer*, was read, containing patriotic Sentiments, and Two Guineas; and Citizen Taylor presented a Guinea from another Citizen, whose Name he was not at Liberty to mention.—It was stated by the Secretary, that a Citizen from London was present, who was to give 5*l.* 5*s.* to the Convention, when a Collection should be made for enlightning the Highlanders. The Thanks of the House was unanimously given to the before-mentioned Patriots for their Donations."

Eleventh Day's Sitting, 30th November, 1793.

"The Secretary read a Motion, that a Committee be appointed to revise each Day's Minutes immediately on the rising of the Convention, for the Purpose of sending them to the Press, to make hereafter a Daily Bulletin of the same. The Question being put, the Motion passed unanimously."

"Citizen ——— likewise moved, That no Person should be allowed the *Honours of the Sitting*, unless recommended by Two Members; which with Amendments, as in the Motion itself, passed unanimously."

"The Secretary read a Motion for publishing the natural, unalienable, and unprescriptable Rights of Man, which was ordered to be given to the Committee of Union."

"It was moved, That Captain * * * should report some Circumstances to the Convention; for which Purpose the House resolved itself into a Committee, when he read an Account of the Trial and Sentence of D. Holt, for re-printing the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt's Resolution for a Parliamentary Reform; after which, the Chairman being replaced, the Secretary moved, That Captain * * * should be allowed the *Honours of the Sitting*."

"Citizen * * * * from Strathaven, and * * * from Hamilton, requested Leave of Absence should be granted, and moved, that all the Delegates who had left the Convention, should receive Letters to return immediately, and remain at their Posts until the important Business

A P P E N D I X F.

Business which was daily introduced into the Convention should be properly discussed."

"A Motion to fine those Members who did not attend their Sections.—The Order of the Day was called for.

"A Motion for drawing out a Scroll of a Petition to Parliament; which being read, *The Order of the Day was moved upon it.*"

Monday, 2d December, 1793. First Year British Convention.

Twelfth Day's Sitting.

Citizen * * * in the Chair, and Citizens * * * and * * * Assistants at the Table.

"Citizen Skirving insisted that all the Members, both of the Convention and Primary Societies, should subscribe a solemn League and Covenant."

"Citizen Gerald pled for Liberty of Sentiment; and compared the People and their Enemies, to the Worshipers of the true God and of Baal. He afterwards read some Paragraphs from the Edinburgh Herald, with suitable Comments; and compared the Constitution of 1688 to a dead Horse. He shewed the Insipidity of the Title "Gentleman," and the Propriety of the Term "Citizen;" remarked the Impropriety of the Mode of promulgating our Laws, by restricting them to be sold by One Printer, and published in the Saxon Character, which few can read."

"Citizen Skirving also pled for the Motion, and insisted that it was proper, on all Occasions, to take the Opinion of the Primary Societies, and considered *the Convention as only a Committee of the People.*"

"Citizen Margatot pled in favour of the Motion. The Approbation given by the *many Thousands of their Constituents in London, Sheffield, Norwich, Leeds, &c.*"

"The Motion being agreed to, with One Dissenting Voice, who afterwards acceded, Citizen * * * read a spirited Advertisement from the Nottingham Society, inserted in a Sheffield News-paper."

"A Motion made by Citizen * * *, and seconded by Citizen * * *, That the Convention shall pass some Resolutions respecting the late unprecedented and unwarrantable Infringements on the Freedom of the Press, particularly the arbitrary Sentence of Judge Wilson against Mr. Holt, for re-printing the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt's Plan of Reform."

"Citizens * * * and * * * moved, That this Convention take under Consideration whether (after the contemptible Manner in which the late Petitions for Parliamentary Reform were treated) they shall again petition for Reform, or at what Period they should recommend the same to their Constituents."

At the Thirteenth Day's Sitting.

Citizen * * *, of Sheffield, produced a Commission from the Leeds Constitution Society, appointing him their Delegate; which was approved of by the Convention.

The Minutes of the Fourteenth Day's Sitting are begun and entered thus;

"Edinburgh, 4th November, 1793. "Fourteenth Sitting of the B. Convention."

In the above, *November* is, by Mistake, inserted in Place of *December*.

“ Mr. Margarot begged Leave to bring in a Motion to the Effect, That the Moment of the illegal Dispersion of the present Convention be considered as our Summons to repair to the Place of Meeting appointed for the Convention of Emergency by the Secret Committee; and that the same Motion be considered this Evening.

“ The Convention then heard the only Two Motions on their Table read, which regarded the same Matter; and it being objected to, that the Business of these Motions was to be taken up To-morrow Evening, after some Conversation, it was carried by a Vote of the House to delay further Consideration till To-morrow Evening. Mr. Margarot being prepared to bring forward his Motion above mentioned, the same was taken under Consideration, and was as follows:

“ Moved, That the Moment of any illegal Dispersion of the British Convention shall be considered as a Summons to the Delegates to repair to the Place of Meeting appointed for the Convention of Emergency by the Secret Committee; and that the Secret Committee be instructed to proceed, without Delay, to fix the Place of Meeting.

“ The Convention, having considered the Motion fully, unanimously resolved the same, and appointed the Secret Committee to proceed as directed.”

A Delegate from Glasgow presented to the Sections, during the Sitting of this Convention, a Motion of the following Tenor; viz.

The Delegation from Glasgow moves, That the Convention take into their Consideration the Nature and Extent of a Resolution adopted by their Constituents, and by most of the other Societies in Scotland, and afterwards ratified and approved of at the General Convention held at Edinburgh in December, 1792, the Import of which was, That if any Member of their Society associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform should, while in the legal Prosecution of that Object, be oppressed or persecuted by the *Arm of Power*, they should not only meet with the Assistance of the Society to which they belong, but also by the united Efforts of all their Brethren in Scotland.

Since the above Period, however, we are sorry to say, several of our Members have been persecuted, and that in a most wanton Manner, and the above Resolution (which if duly put in Force would, we humbly apprehend, have the happy Effect of emboldening those who have already come forward, and of encouraging others who have not yet taken any active Part to unite their Efforts in the general Cause) has never yet been attended to.

We therefore humbly move, That the Convention take into Consideration the above Particulars, and consider what Measures may be most conducive towards the Performance of the Obligation we lie under, in consequence of that Resolution, and thereby shew to the World that we are not unmindful of those who have already suffered, or may in future suffer in their Country's Cause.

By Order of the Delegation,

* * *

Edinburgh, October 30th, 1793.

No. 11.

A P P E N D I X F.

No. 11.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Margarot to the Norwich Societies, dated
Edinburgh, 24th November, 1793.*

You know that at our Arrival here we found that the Convention had, after sitting Four Days, adjourned, and the Delegates were all gone back to their respective Habitations, without proceeding any farther in the Business of Reform, than simply agreeing that nothing short of Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments would satisfy them, and on that Ground proposing not to send any Petition to the King or to the Parliament, lest by so doing the Enemies of Reform might be tempted to counteract their Wish, and exert themselves to prevent a Peace; but at the same Time it was recommended by the Convention, that all Friends to Reform should sign any Petition for Peace, which might originate in another Quarter—We soon prevailed on the Edinburgh Committee to recal the adjourned Convention; the Country Societies, informed that England meant to take a serious Part in the great Cause, sent back all their former Delegates, and several of them who had not sent Delegates to the prior Convention, have sent some to this one. On Tuesday the 19th Instant the Convention opened. The Number of Delegates amounted to 180; some of them came even from so far as Cromartie; the Reception we experienced was highly flattering, we mutually gave and received Encouragement and Animation. I shall not at present attempt to give you a minute Detail of what has since passed, because the Minutes are to be printed, and then I will not fail sending you a few Copies of them, and will, I hope, be able at my Return to come to Norwich, and give you an accurate verbal Account of every Transaction; mean Time, if you have any Instructions to give me, send them without Delay, otherwise I shall act for you conformably to those laid down by the London Corresponding Society, a Copy of which you doubtless have received from them.—The Convention have begun by establishing a Set of Rules for the Organization of the present and even future *Conventions*; next we established a Committee of Union between the Two Nations, a Committee of Finance, and a Committee to take into Consideration the protecting or establishing a Patriotic Newspaper.—And on Saturday last we passed a provisory Decree of Union, the whole Convention, standing Hand in Hand, solemnly pledged themselves to each other to renounce all National Distinctions, to abide firmly and truly by each other, until the great End is obtained, and at the same Time we assumed the Title of *The British Convention of Delegates of the People, associated to obtain Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments.*

No. 12.

*Copy of a Letter from Messrs. Gerald and Margarot to the Secretary of the
London Corresponding Society.*

Citizen —

Edinburgh, Tuesday December 2d, 1793.

We received last Night a Letter signed by you, but written by another Person, acquainting us with the Determination of the Committee, "that at the Adjournment of the Convention we should return immediately to London:" this Determination we will undoubtedly

conform unto, unless it be (as we hope and trust it will) contradicted in your next; for if the Committee abides by it, we, who by being on the Spot, and thoroughly acquainted with the State of the Country, can judge with Certainty thereon, do assure you that *our immediate Return to London* will be attended with very bad Consequences, for at present all the Country Societies look up to us to come among them *to enliven, to encourage them, to convince them by our Presence*, that we exist, that we have been sent from England for the Purposes of *Union and Reform*, and that *the Time is near at Hand when such Reform must take place*. Nothing, dear Friends, must force us from Scotland at present but the absolute Impossibility of bearing the Expences attending our Mission, and those Expences may be somewhat lessened by recalling One of us, and leaving the other: our Norwich Friends may likewise bear a Part of them, so that unless the Funds of the Society are very low indeed, no Excuse for Recal can be valid, unless founded on *Fear*; and that we must remind you is our Concern, not yours. While, therefore, the Idea of *uniting our Society with the whole Kingdom of Scotland* affords you a pleasing Prospect, let us do every Thing in our Power to *cement that Union*; and this can only be done by a longer Residence in the Country, and by visiting the several Societies which have sent Delegates to Edinburgh, and would think themselves ill used if we did not take their Town in our Way. Consider of it therefore, we beseech you, and let us have your Answer immediately.

The Convention proceed with great Spirit. We sit Daily; and last Week we came to a Resolution which we fancy will *give Pleasure to every Friend to Reform*; as the Minutes are to be printed, we will, at present, only give you the Heads of it; viz.

That should any Attempt be made by Government for the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Bill, the Introduction of a Convention Bill, or the landing of Foreign Troops in Great Britain or Ireland, the *Delegates are immediately to assemble in Convention at a certain Place, the Appointment of which is left with a Secret Committee*—That when Seven Delegates shall be thus assembled, they shall declare themselves *permanent*; and when their Number amounts to Twenty-one, they shall proceed to Business—thus you see we are providing against what may happen.

Citizen Gerald's Health is so far recovered as not to prevent him from fully attending his Duty. We cannot say as much of Citizen Sinclair, from the Society for Constitutional Information; he has been confined to his Bed ever since Saturday by a violent Fever and Sore Throat; he is somewhat better this Morning. He is a valuable young Man; and, should he die, his Loss would be severely felt; not indeed by his Constituents, who have basely abandoned him, but by all the Friends of Freedom. He is a Member of our Society, and we recommend him to your Notice.

You will before this have received our last of the 26th Instant, acknowledging the Receipt of your Letter of the 23d, together with a Remittance of £. 12 12s.—Our Time is so constantly employed that we find it absolutely impossible as yet to write to you more than Once a Week, and even that on no fixed Day: Eighteen Hours out of the Four and Twenty are devoted to Public Business, and you may rest assured they are not mispent. We are happy to hear that you go on

A P P E N D I X F.

as well in the South as we do in the North.—Letters convey *but very imperfectly, and with no great Degree of Safety, what we might wish to inform each other of.*—You have done us a material Injury by neglecting to send us a Parcel of our Publications, and a Number of Copies of The Jurymen's Right; pray do not delay them any longer, and among them some of the Letters to Dundas. We sent you an Edinburgh Gazetteer last Week, we will send you another To-morrow; you will therein see Part of what has passed in the Convention.

We remain, most sincerely,

Your Fellow Labourers in the Cause of Reform,

JOSEPH GERALD, Delegate.

McE MARGAROT, Delegate.

M. M. would be glad to receive a Line from T. H. about private Business of his own.

No. 13.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Margarot to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.

Fellow Citizen,

Edinburgh, 8th December, 1793.

We desire that a Copy of the inclosed Papers be kept by the Society, and that another Copy of them be delivered, without Delay, to Citizen Martin in order that he may proceed thereupon immediately.

You will already have had confused Accounts of what has taken place here for the last Four Days; but on Tuesday next the Edinburgh Gazetteer shall (if Despotism permit) give you a compleat Detail of every Thing. The Society will thereby be able to discover that an Arrival in Scotland has been productive of great Advantage to the Cause, and at the same Time has given great Alarm to our Enemies. We are very much surprized at the Remissness of the Society; while we are exposing our Life and Liberty, while we are devoting our Time and our Exertions to their Service, while we are incurring numberless Expences, and affronting Dangers that would stagger the most hardy of them, while we are doing all this, we are moreover obliged to remind them of it, *and that Supplies are now become more necessary than ever*; surely the pecuniary Exertions of any Individual in the Society, *can never be compared to our Endeavours*: Honoured with their Confidence, we find ourselves happy in being placed in the Front of the Battle; but let them remember that our sacrificing ourselves will be of little Use, unless they afford us a proper Support, and that most immediately. Not daring any longer to trust to the Post, we send you all these Papers in a Parcel. You will be so good as to make us acquainted with their safe Arrival—Gerald wishes to get to London as soon as possible, he will communicate that which cannot be so fully expressed by Letter; you may consider this as a private Letter, but you may read such Parts of it as you think proper to any Member of the Society, especially where it may be productive of Good.—You will see by the inclosed Papers, that Power has proceeded in a most arbitrary Manner, almost all the prominent Characters in the Convention have been, or are to be apprehended and examined—Lord Daer will, we believe, meet with no greater Favour than ourselves; we understand that there is a Warrant out

APPENDIX F.

against him. As an Account of what has happened to us would exceed the Bounds of a Letter, we will only just give you a Sketch of it, by Way of Journal, referring you, as we said before, to next Tuesday's Gazetteer.

Thursday Morning at 7 o'Clock.

A Sheriff's Officer, followed by Five other Men, entered our Bed Room, informed us he had a Warrant (which however he refused to shew) for apprehending us, and seizing our Papers; we remained confined all Day, at Night we were examined and admitted to Bail, each in the Sum of 2,000 Merks.

Friday Morning, 9 o'Clock.

We were sent for again without a Warrant, for the Purpose of being present at the opening of a small Trunk, containing our Papers; but M. M. protesting against the Illegality of the Whole of the Proceedings, and refusing to give up the Key, the Sheriff Substitute and the Procurator Fiscal dared to proceed no farther in the Business.

Saturday Morning, 9 o'Clock.

Two Messengers came again into our Room, with Gerald; they left a Summons to appear at 10 o'Clock, with M. M. They left nothing but a Request to accompany Gerald to the Office; yet, when arrived there, he found that a Warrant was issued against him, for the Purpose of detaining him a Prisoner, while the Box was opened, and the Papers examined. M. M. still persisting in his Refusal, the Key was forced from him, the Trunk was opened, the Papers examined, and partly restored; the other Part was kept, and a Declaration drawn up, which he was required to sign, but refused, protesting against the Whole of the Business.—Gerald, however, signed what was drawn up in his Name, and we were once more liberated; and since then, now already 24 Hours, no further Persecution has been commenced against us. But while we, as Individuals, were thus harrassed (Thursday) the Whole of the Convention were equally ill used.—Many of them were taken into Custody; and when the Remainder met, as usual, the Provost, attended by his Myrmidons, went, and, after pulling ———, of Sheffield, out of the Chair, ordered the Convention to disperse, and informed them that he would allow no such Meetings in future. (Friday) The next Day, the Convention having agreed to meet at another Place, out of the Jurisdiction of the Provost, we had not been long assembled, before the Sheriff, with his Myrmidons, appeared among us, and commanded us to depart, after having asked whether that Meeting was the British Convention, and being answered in the Affirmative. He next enquired who was the President; upon which M. M. having openly asked, and obtained Leave of the Convention, placed himself in the Chair; informed the Sheriff, that he, M. M. was the President of the British Convention, and that he would not break up the Meeting, unless unconstitutionally forced thereunto, by the Sheriff's pulling him out of the Chair; which the latter (after some Hesitation) having complied with, the Ex-president (Gerald) was also put into the Chair, which he would not leave but by being pulled out; adjourned the Convention to the Place where it was to become permanent in its Sitting; and having called upon his Colleague, Gerald,

APPENDIX F.

for to close the Meeting with Prayer, the Company departed peaceable, but not without various Reflections on the Proceedings, and those Reflections not confined merely to the Members of the Convention, but coming also from the Crowd without Doors, and even from the attending Constables.—The next Day a Proclamation was issued by the Provost, forbidding all assembling within the Limits of his Jurisdiction.—We know not what will happen; but we venture to predict, that all this Persecution will increase rather than diminish the Ardour of the People for Reform. The Country Societies, hearing of this, are hourly pouring in fresh Delegates.—Want of Paper forbids my writing any more.

Adieu! Your's, M. M.

APPENDIX G.

Extract from the Evidence taken on the 22d of May, 1794, before the Privy Council.

THOMAS THOMPSON, Esq; Member for Evesham, attending their Lordships, was called in, and asked, If he was a Member of the Constitutional Society? to which he answered, That he was.

Extracts from his Evidence.

Q. How long have you been a Member of this Society?

A. I cannot exactly recollect, but think about last Christmas.

Q. Did you attend the Meetings of the Society regularly?

A. When I was in Town I did.

Q. Was you present on the 28th of March, when a Letter was read from the London Corresponding Society, of the 27th of March, with certain Resolutions [which were shewn to Mr. Thompson in the Book] were inclosed, and a Resolution and Order thereupon made by the Constitutional Society.

A. I was.

Q. Were you present at a Meeting of the 4th April, when a Resolution was made respecting the Appointment of Delegates to confer, &c.

A. I do, upon Consideration, recollect it—but I opposed the Appointment of a Convention.—Another Person and I decidedly and loudly opposed it, and went away, understanding that it had passed in the Negative—I opposed it on the Grounds of its being a bad and improper Mode of proceeding—and that it would be better to present a Petition to Parliament—I do not recollect that any other Person besides myself and the Person already named opposed this Proposition.

Q. You recollect, then, being present upon the 4th of April?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember a Deputation being appointed to confer with the London Corresponding Societies?

A. I do

A. I do remember an Agreement to appoint a Delegation; but I do not recollect the Names of the Persons of whom that Delegation was to consist.

Q. Do you recollect the subsequent Resolution for appointing a Committee of Correspondence?

A. I do not recollect it; but rather think I went away before it passed—I usually left the Society before it broke up, as I slept in the Country, and of course many Resolutions were passed after I went away.

Q. Do you think it right to state what you particularly recollect of the Resolution respecting the Appointment of a Convention?

A. I recollect the opposing of it, with the Person already named; and I recollect it was carried in the Negative.

Q. Is it entered on the Books of the Society, that the Motion for appointing a Convention was negatived?

A. I do not know; but it certainly was carried in the Negative—I recollect leaving the Society with a firm Conviction that it had been negatived; and I have since talked with the Person already named on the Subject, who understood so as well as myself.

Q. Can you state the Name of any Person who opposed the Appointment of a Convention, except yourself and the Person you have named?

A. I cannot—that Person was against it from the first Mention of such an Idea.

Q. Was there any Debate upon it?

A. There was.

Q. Do you recollect the Names of any of the Persons who spoke for the Appointment of a Convention?

A. I do not—there was a good deal of Confusion.

Q. Did you ever see the printed Resolutions of the Society?

A. I do not recollect that I did.

Q. Have you any Reason to believe that the Resolution against the Appointment of a Convention was reduced to Writing?

A. Probably it was: I made a Memorandum of it, as I took Minutes myself; I always did so for my own Satisfaction, and to refer to upon Occasion.—The Memorandum I made on this Occasion, stated particularly that it had been carried that no Convention should take place. I was always decidedly against Delegates being sent from the different Societies and Towns. I took Minutes even of what passed at the Meetings of the Friends of the People, though I think them very safe Persons.

Q. Have you any One of these Memorandums?

A. I have not—I have looked for them, and could not find One—They were upon Scraps of Paper; and not thinking them of Importance, I did not preserve them.

Q. As you opposed the Formation of a Convention, what did you conceive the Convention was to do if it did meet?

A. I opposed a Convention, having seen the Evils of it in other Places; and not thinking it the best Means of obtaining the Object in View.

Mr. Thompson having attended the Committee of Secrecy appointed by the House, his Evidence before the Privy Council was read to him; and

and he was asked, If he wished to state any Thing in Explanation of that Evidence?

Mr. Thompson desired to explain and alter it; and observed, that in the Account given of his Evidence before the Council, he is stated to have said, that at the Meeting on the 4th of April he does not recollect any other Person, besides the Person he mentioned to the Privy Council and himself, opposed the Proposition for a Convention; he now begs to say, that he meant to say, that he does not recollect what other Persons, besides himself and the Person before alluded to, opposed that Proposition.

It is stated in the Evidence, that Mr. Tooke signed the Letter to request a Contribution for Mr. Skirving. Mr. Thompson meant to say he was to sign the Letter, as Chairman of the Evening.

It is stated in the Evidence, that he was asked, If he ever saw the printed Resolutions of the Society? To which he is stated to answer, He did not recollect he did: Mr. Thompson desires to say, that he had never seen before the Book shewn to him by the Attorney General at the Time that Question was put to him.

And as to the last Question, Whether he had ever attended any Meeting since the 2d of May? he begged now to say, that he went once, with an Idea of taking his Name out of the Books of the Society.

With respect to Mr. Thompson being present when the Toasts were drank; he begged to say he certainly was, but that he did not drink them all, being unwell, and the Wine being bad.—On being shewn the Toasts at the Council, he said, he thought some of them very absurd.

Mr. Thompson was then asked by the Committee.

If there was any Individual, besides the Person before alluded to, that joined you in Opposition to the Proposition for a Convention?

I cannot recollect—but there must have been several, as the Question was negatived.

When and where did Mr. Thompson first see or hear the List of those Toasts?

From the Attorney General in the Privy Council Room.—Mr. Thompson was not present at any Meeting of the Stewards when the Toasts were drawn up, previous to the Dinner.

Do you recollect Mr. Sharpe being present on the 11th of April, during the Debate on a proposed Resolution containing the Word "Convention?"

I do not.

Have you any Recollection of Mr. Horne Tooke, in the Course of such a Debate, remarking, that the Debate about the Word "Convention" was all Nonsense; it was only between a Latin Word and an English one?

I do not.

APPEN-

APPENDIX H.

Copy of a Letter from the Bristol Society for Constitutional Information, to the London Corresponding Society.

Fellow Citizens,

Bristol, 28th January 1794.

I AM again authorized to write to you, signifying the Gratitude of our Society for your Second Epistle, which came to my Hands the 3d Inst. After reading its Contents, I collected as many of our Friends as I conveniently could that Evening—we read—we blushed—we took Courage;—we did more, for we resolved on re-assembling, as we had appointed prior to the Determination we announced in our last. We intend publishing an Address, or something declaratory of our Sentiments, with all convenient Speed;—as soon as this is effected, we shall send a Copy or Copies to you. From the Courier and Evening Gazette, we have had Information of the Trial of Mr. Margarot, and his Sentence to 14 Years Transportation. We are by no Means at a Loss in forming a Judgment of the noble Cause in which he with others are embarked, *nor would we be frightened at such Sentences.* You see, Citizens, your Second Epistle has quickened our Courage, and vivified our Patriotism, and roused us to Resolution; *and more, our Number is now considerably increased*—perhaps your Third Epistle may do greater things still;—we are sensible 'tis a noble—'tis a virtuous—'tis a Godlike and immortal Cause in which we are now mutually embarked; and though for Parts our Effort can be but a feeble one, yet the Cause we espouse is mighty—is energetic—It will finally prevail and prosper: It is our firm Opinion, could we but arouse them, that Patriots would become nearly the Majority of our City. We expected to have had the Dozen of The Englishmen's Rights, which you mentioned in your First Epistle—Hope you will send them speedily.

We are, Fellow Citizens, yours sincerely,

The Bristol Society for Constitutional
Information, &c.

At a General Meeting of the Delegates of the United Societies at
Norwich, held 24th Feb. 1794;

It was unanimously resolved, “That One or more Delegates shall
“ be sent to the next General Convention, soon as called for by our
“ London Correspondents.”

*Copy of a Letter from the Bristol Constitutional Society to the Secretary of the
London Corresponding Society.*

Fellow Citizen,

Bristol, 24th April, 1794.

You may be sensible, from our last Communication, that in the Infancy of our Patriotic Efforts we had many Difficulties to overcome, and many strong Prejudices to combat. We laid open to you our real Situation; we told you our Determination to address the Public; and assured you of our unalterable Perseverance in the glorious Cause of Freedom.—This Perseverance, however, and these Exertions

of

of an individual Society, can but little avail, if the Societies in the different Parts of the Kingdom are in themselves disunited, or do not aid and assist each other, agreeable to the Principles of Philanthropy and *Fraternity* which they so warmly profess. Under this Idea, we conceive ourselves treated with a Degree of *Incivism*, by your Society not answering our last Letters; the Reasons may be good.—At present we are candid enough to confess, that the Circumstance does not appear to us in the most favourable Point of View. Our Address, of which we send you a few Copies, we find to have a good Effect, and is likely to beget us the Assistance of many Friends, while our Enemies acknowledge there is something very fair and reasonable in the Production.—This is an absolute Victory; and we have Reason to congratulate ourselves on the Prospect of Success it opens to us. With a Mixture of Pain and Pleasure, we saw an Account of your last General Meeting; we lament that the *strong Hand of Despotism* should so often interfere to prevent the Assertion of the Rights of the People, while we rejoice in your manly Constitutional Preseverance and *applaud and approve your Resolution of forming another General Convention*: Our *increasing Numbers* give us every reasonable Hope of soon being able more *effectually to co-operate with you*; while, for the Reasons formerly stated, we cannot yet make a positive Promise on that Head. We hope for an immediate Answer.—Favour us with your Opinion of our Address, and transmit a Sketch of your Plan respecting the General Convention.

By Order of the Committee of Delegates appointed by the Bristol Constitutional Society.

Copy of a Letter from Newcastle to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.

Newcastle upon Tyne, 24th April, 1794.

By Desire of a Number of Friends to a radical Reform in the Constitution here, I make free to trouble you. We live in a Place where an Aristocrat Magistracy endeavours to stop the genial and benign Spirit of National Liberty from spreading, notwithstanding a very great Number are found here that dare assert the natural and unalienable Rights of Man, and bear their Testimony against the tyrannical Encroachments of assumed Power on those Rights; a good Number have formed themselves into Societies, and meet Weekly, admitting *none but known Friends*; and have assumed no Name but that of *News-paper Companies*; these were in great Spirits while the *British Convention continued to act*; but after their Suppression a Damp was cast on the Whole.—Subscriptions were ready to be sent off the very Night they were suppressed, and the Gazetteer stopped, which has since been remitted to London, for the Use of the persecuted Worthies, Muir and Palmer.—Being charmed with your masterly and bold Approbation of the Conduct of your Delegates and noble Martyrs for Truth, Margaret and Gerald, and find your Name signed Secretary to the Corresponding Society, we wish to copy your Example; and beg, if you think us worth your Notice, give us your Views and Intentions as soon as convenient, which, I hope, will be a Means to stimulate and increase our Numbers. Lest this should not come to you, as I

have an uncertain Direction, I forbear troubling you more at present, in Hopes of being favoured with your future Correspondence.—Farewell, *hoping the Hydra of Tyranny and Imposition shall soon fall under the Guillotine of Truth and Reason.*

Your's, with all due Respect, &c.

Copy of a Letter from the Constitutional Society at Norwich to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.

Citizen * * *

Norwich Societies, 29th April, 1794.

It is with great Satisfaction we view the manly Conduct of you and your Colleagues, especially when, surrounded as you are, by a domineering Aristocracy, who, notwithstanding their great Bluster, are but Chicken-hearted;—Witness our Norfolk Quixotes, who, after being completely foiled at the County Meeting, were determined to subscribe to support an armed Aristocracy: But, pray, tell it not in the Metropolis, that a noble Marquis subscribed no more than £. 200, and another high-pensioned Lord but £. 100; an Alderman and Leader, and very fierce for Church and King, the enormous Sum of £. 20: These are the Men who are ready to spend their Lives and Fortunes;—but enough of such privileged Beings! We should be glad to know whether the Friends of the People consent to a Convention, and whether they will take an active Part.

Please to accept of a few of our Bills. We should esteem it a Favour that you would send us a few of your late Declarations.

P. S. Many of our Friends are fully convinced of the Necessity, Legality, and Rationality of a Convention: But, Query, Whether the Time be expedient?

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society to Newcastle.

Citizen,

1st May, 1794.

It is with Pleasure the London Corresponding Society hear that a Society on a similar Plan, and with the same patriotic Objects in View, is likely to be established at Newcastle upon Tyne—If ever a Crisis arrived that required the Exertions of the People to stop the Torrent of Corruption, Infamy, and Despotism, that seems likely to overwhelm them, it is the present—in God's Name then, let us use these Exertions.—We are called upon by every Thing that is dear to us, as Men and as Christians. The Cause of Truth and Liberty must finally be Omnipotent; therefore doubt not that the glorious Reign of Liberty and Equality will ere long be established, and modern Governments, with every Appendage of Wickedness and Corruption, will flee in Time from their genial Influence, as Beasts of Prey to their Dens of Rapine and Darkness from the rising Sun. The London Corresponding Society have beheld with Indignation the rapid Advances of Despotism in Britain, and are ready cordially to unite with every other Society in the Three Kingdoms, who have for their Object a full and effectual Representation of the People; they therefore have deputed Six of their Members to meet Six Members of the Society for Constitutional Information, to form a Committee of Correspondence and Co-operation; this Committee meets regularly Twice a

Week

Week at No. 2, Beaufort Buildings, Strand, where any Member delegated by your Society will meet with every Information required.—We inclose you a few of our Resolutions, entered into at our General Meeting on the 14th of April, which will be sufficiently explanatory of our Sentiments and Views. *We heartily unite with you in wishing that the Hydra of Tyranny and Imposition may soon fall under the Guillotine of Truth and Reason.*

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary to the Constitutional Society at Sheffield, to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.

Friend and Fellow Citizen, Sheffield, May 11th, 1794.

The Friends of Peace and Reform in Halifax having held a general Public Meeting in the open Air, on Monday April 21st, 1794, at which were many Friends from Leeds, Wakefield, Huddersfield, Bradford, and the adjacent Neighbourhood, the Friends of Freedom, after the Meeting, agreed to hold a General Meeting of Delegates at Bristol, in order to consider on the Measures to be adopted by them preparatory to a *General Convention*. After which our worthy Friend Citizen ——— of Halifax, being ordered to Sheffield to get the Proceedings of the Meeting printed, and consult with us upon the Subject, they were advised by us to defer at present the Meeting of Delegates, *until further Information from you on that Subject*. I was therefore ordered, at our last Committee Meeting, to write to you, requesting the Favour of as early Intelligence as possible on that important Business. We are not in the least intimidated in Sheffield, as we can call and hold a public Meeting whenever Circumstances renders the same necessary; besides, in the House where I reside, we have a large commodious Room, where the Society can peaceably meet in Rotation.

By Order of the Committee,

* * * * Secretary.

Full Report

COMMITTEE OF SECRETARY

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

to report thereupon from Time to Time, as they

ORDERED TO BE PRINTED BY THE CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENT

THE FOURTH EDITION

LONDON

FOR J. DEBART, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON HOUSE,
ST. JAMES'S PLACE, LONDON, W.

THE
First Report
FROM THE
COMMITTEE OF SECRECY

APPOINTED BY
THE HOUSE OF LORDS

To inspect the Report and Original Papers, and the Book sealed up in a Bag, delivered on Monday the 19th of May last, by a Message from the Commons; and who, by the Order of the House of Wednesday the 21st of the same Month, were empowered to send for Persons, Papers, and Records, and to receive such Communication as may be made to them by His Majesty's Orders, or by the Committee of Secrecy appointed by the House of Commons, and to report thereupon, from Time to Time, as they shall see Cause,

ORDERED TO BE PRINTED 7th JUNE, 1794.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. DEBRETT, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON HOUSE,
PICCADILLY.

1794.

FIRST REPORT Second Report

By the Lords Committee appointed a Committee
to inspect the Report and Original Papers, and
the Book laid up in a Bag, delivered on March
the 10th 1790, by the Committee of the
Commons.

PRINTED BY

ORDERED TO REPORT

THAT the Committee have not, and having carefully compared
the same with the Original Papers, referred to them, have
come to an unanimous Resolution immediately to report to your
Lordships, That they are satisfied and convinced, that
contained in these Papers, that a Conspiracy had been
formed, and were about to be put into execution, for the purpose
of raising a rebellion in the Kingdom of Great Britain, and
the Kingdom of France, and of establishing a new
System of Liberty and Commerce, which was to be
France, in the Month of November 1790, and
The said Evidence being strong and clear, and
been recently taken, and are still continuing, for the purpose
of the said Conspiracy, and to the said Conspiracy, the
said Conspiracy, for establishing by an Oath, the
which they have conspired.—The Committee have therefore
it their duty to continue the further examination of the
evidence, and to submit to the consideration of your
Lordships, and to report that they should be empowered to
send for Persons and Papers, and to receive such Communications as
may be made to them by His Majesty's Officers, or by the Committee
of secrecy appointed by the House of Commons, whose
and Activity in providing for the said Conspiracy, and
proportionable Aid and Assistance in your Lordships' judgment
this House of Lords, and thereby averting the Consequences in which
the further Progress of such a Conspiracy might have involved the
Nation.—ORDERED TO BE PRINTED Jan. 1791.

T H E

Second Report

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY

APPOINTED BY

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

To inspect the Report and Original Papers, and the Book sealed up in a Bag, delivered on Monday the 19th of May last, by a Message from the Commons; and who, by the Order of the House of Wednesday the 21st of the same Month, were empowered to send for Persons, Papers, and Records, and to receive such Communication as may be made to them by his Majesty's Orders, or by the Committee of Secrecy appointed by the House of Commons, and to report thereupon, from Time to Time, as they shall see Cause.

ORDERED TO BE PRINTED 7th JUNE, 1794.

for the Destruction of the Constitution, it has appeared to your Committee that it would be fit to state, in the First Place, the Circumstances which preceded that Preparation of Arms, and those under which it took place.

From authentic and public documents it appears, that, subsequent to the Imprisonment of the late French King, the Abolition of Monarchy, and the Establishment of a Democratical and Revolutionary Government, in France, a direct and avowed Correspondence was carried on between the Convention in France and certain Persons in His Majesty's Dominions, for the undisguised Purpose of an Union of Principles and Conduct.

The Addresses sent to the French Convention in the Month of November 1792, and the Answers returned to them, are Matters of public Notoriety. The Committee, referring to the Statement given of them by the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, have further to observe upon these Addresses, that it now appears that the Idea was first conceived after the Massacres at Paris, in the Beginning of September 1792, was drawn into Form after the Invasion of the Netherlands, and that it was not the sudden Act of a few Individuals, or even of One particular Society, but was long under Deliberation, communicated to other Societies in different Parts of the Kingdom assembled under various Names, and the common Pretext of Parliamentary Reform, adopted by many, and finally transmitted as a Declaration of the Sentiments of a Majority of the English Nation.

The Committee has bestowed a particular Attention to investigate the Proceedings of that Society which assumed the Name of the London Corresponding Society; because, from the Character, Habits, and Condition, of those who compose it, compared with the Style and Language, as well as the Method and Contrivance discovered in their Proceedings, it is most probable that it must have been guided by Persons of a superior Education, and more cultivated Talents, than appear amongst the Members of this Society. For the direct and avowed Connection which took place in the Beginning of April last between this Society and the Society for Constitutional Information, and the Plan of Co-operation then established between them, the Committee again refer to the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons now before the House.

The London Corresponding Society, in the First Formation, which was about January 1792, appears to have been planned and directed by leading Members of the Society for Constitutional Information, and in the Course of its subsequent Proceedings, the Measures they pursued were in many Instances privately concerted with Persons of the same Description. The Number of Persons first assembled did not exceed Two Hundred. In the Course of a few Months, their Communications with similar Societies in various Places

Places became very frequent, and they began to assume a Form and Method of proceeding by Subdivisions and Delegations, which have to them an Appearance of Consequence, and of increasing Numbers. They were the ostensible Promoters of the Address to the French Convention, presented in November 1792, and the Instruments to carry on the Correspondence upon it in the Country; from whence they have taken every Occasion to extend their Communication with these other Societies which they have industriously drawn to a close, intimate, and dependent Connection.

The War, commenced against His Majesty by the Persons exercising the Powers of Government in France, suppressed the open Communication with the French Convention; but neither that Circumstance, nor the repeated Declaration of Parliament, had any Effect to restrain the Avowal of those Doctrines which had led that Convention to all those Excesses which have proved so destructive in France to the Principles of Social Order, of Religion, and of Morality.

In the Course of the Year 1793, a Plan appears to have been conceived, and in some Degree brought into a regular Shape, for uniting the different Meetings, formed by the artful Dissemination of seditious Publications, inviting Men to follow the Example of France, into such a Body as might be brought to act to One given Object, and be subject to One general Direction.

The most marked Effect of this Plan was, the assembling of a Body under the Name of a Convention, which made its First public Appearance at Edinburgh on the 29th of October 1793.

The Design of this Meeting had been known and concerted for some time with Societies in England, particularly with the Society for Constitutional Information, and the London Corresponding Society. Two Delegates to this Meeting were chosen, and sent from the London Corresponding Society; a regular Allowance for their Journey and Expences, at a rate very considerable in respect to the apparent Funds of that Society, was voted for their Support, and actually paid: These Delegates were Margarot and Gerrald. They appeared, by the Sequel, to have been, in Effect, not only Delegates, but Conductors of the Affairs of the intended Meeting; and deriving a considerable Consequence from the supposed Representation of the Society which sent them, and other Societies in England, from which they afterwards produced Commissions. Two Delegates were also chosen from the Society for Constitutional Information—Sinclair, and a Person known under the Name of Yorke.

After sitting Four Days in Expectation of the English Delegates, the Meeting, which had consisted of about 150 Persons from different Parts of Scotland, separated, because the English Delegates had not arrived. In Two Days afterwards they came; a Delegate

from Sheffield also arrived ; and Sinclair, One of the Delegates from the Society for Constitutional Information : Mr. Hamilton Rowan and Mr. Simon Butler, stating themselves to come on the Part of a Society called the United Irishmen, but having no Commission, made their Appearance likewise, and were all introduced to a General Committee of the Convention, and received as Delegates.

A Meeting of the Convention, which had separated before the Appearance of these Persons, was immediately summoned by Skirving the Secretary, and by public Advertisement, for the 19th of November, on which Day it was held, and consisted of about 160 Persons.

The First Four Days of their Meeting were employed in settling Forms, and in an Examination of the Commissioners of the Delegates supposed to be given by Meetings of the Inhabitants of the Places from which they were dated, but which Meetings were in very few Places known to have existed, or to have been called for any such Purpose. All these Commissions were of course allowed to be valid. On the 22d Day of November, this Meeting voted itself to be, The British Convention, and assumed that style in their Minutes and other Proceedings, which were dated 'in the First Year of the British Convention,' and in some instances, 'in the First Year of the British Convention *One and Indivisible.*'

The Meeting thus formed, proceeded to act in exact Imitation of the French Convention, adopting all its Forms, Phrases, and Modes of Proceeding, forming Committees of Organization, of Instruction, of Finance, of Secrecy, decreeing Honours of the Sitting, Honourable Mention of Services, and what may merit more serious Attention than the Affectation of this Style, attempting to institute Primary Societies, Provincial Assemblies, and Departments in the Country. On the 28th of November, they came to a Resolution of declared Opposition and Resistance to the Authority of Parliament, under a Reserve that it should not be entered on the Minutes till the Close of their Sittings.

After this, the Spirit and Activity of the Magistrates were exerted to disperse this Convention; and on the 5th of December, 1793, the Ringleaders were apprehended, their Papers seized, and some of them have since been tried and convicted of the Crimes laid to their Charge.

Notwithstanding the just and laudable Exertions of the Civil Authority to suppress this enormous Disorder, the Mischief intended has been in Part effectuated, for there has existed a Meeting formed on the Model of the French Convention, assuming the name of the British Convention, which, from the 19th of November to the 5th of December, 1793, has been exhibited in this Kingdom, with an open Publication of all its Transactions, in a Newspaper conducted by
One

One of its Members, to serve as a Pattern of the Form and Method in which a future Convention might proceed to act.

It also appears from the Sequel that there still remained a Committee of Secrecy and Emergency formed in that Meeting, which had continued to conduct subsequent Operations in Scotland.

The Committee have thought it important to call the Attention of the House to this Transaction, because it appears, by the Evidence produced to them, to have been concerted at least, if not directed, by the disaffected Societies in England, and to have a most intimate Connection with the Sequel of the Conspiracy carried on here.

From the Time of the Meeting and Dispersion of the Convention at Edinburgh, the Societies in England began to act with increased Vigour and Activity. Their Resolutions expressed a warm Approbation of the Proceedings of the Convention at Edinburgh; strong Declarations were made in Behalf of those who had been brought to trial and convicted; Subscriptions entered into for their Encouragement and Support; and some Projects appear to have been entertained for their Rescue.

The London Corresponding Society had continued to extend its Correspondence, and also its Influence with the other Societies dispersed in the Country, and had, in the Month of February last, adopted a Resolution to arrange the Members into Divisions of Thirty, composed of those who lived nearest to each other, that they might easily be assembled together upon any Emergency. They had also procured about that Time a plan of a Constitution to be formed, which was printed and circulated amongst the several Divisions, by some of which it had been approved, and at the Time when the Secretary was apprehended, was about to be referred to the General Meeting of Delegates for its final sanction. By this Plan, besides the Section of Thirty, classed so as to be ready to come forth at the same Time, there were to be secondary Sections of Ten each, under the Representation and Direction of a Tythingman. There was also a general Committee of Correspondence.

This Committee, in Fact, appears to have existed for a considerable Time, to have consisted of a Number not exceeding Five, to have transacted and directed all the Secret Business of the Society, and they were authorized to communicate to the larger Meetings only such Matters as they thought adviseable.

It seems almost unnecessary for the Committee to point out to the Observation of the House, that a Society (whatever be the Condition of the Individuals who compose it) so organized, the Phrase they adopt in their printed Plan, and so connected with other Societies in various Parts of the Island, is capable of giving the immediate Effect of an united Operation to whatever Measures may be proposed by

their Leaders, especially when the recent Example of France affords so striking an instance of the destructive Effect of such a Combination. The Committee must at the same Time remark, that this Constitution (as it is called,) in the Declaration of Principles by which it is introduced, the Tests required of the Members, and the general Frame of the Provisions, evidently shew that the Model on which it is formed, is that which has led to the Annihilation of all regular Government in France, and to the Despotism of a few Demagogues through the Power and Influence of the Clubs.

Under this State of Things, and when all this Arrangement had been previously formed, the Project of procuring Arms was brought forward. The precise Date when it took place cannot be ascertained, for it appears to have been conducted in most Places with peculiar Secrecy and Caution.

So early as the Time of the Meeting at Edinburgh, the Facility of procuring Arms, particularly Pikes, the Use and Efficacy of them as it had been proved in France, had been discussed at some of the Division Meetings, but no specific Measure to this Effect had been taken till a much later Period.

About the Month of March 1794, private Meetings had been held Twice a Week, in various Places of and adjoining to the Metropolis, for the Purpose of instructing Men in the Use of the Firelock; the Places of such Meeting were changed to avoid Detection; and were chosen by a Committee. They exercised chiefly by Night; and no Persons were admitted but by a printed Ticket, with the Inscription, "Liberty to those who dare to be free." The Number of Firelocks actually provided, as far as it has been discovered, may seem inconsiderable for the Execution of any Design, although, for the Purpose of teaching the Exercise, it had a most dangerous Extent; but in respect of the Circumstances of the Person who purchased, or subscribed for the Purchase, the Number is an Object of some Consideration; and it appears that the Artillery House, and Gunsmith Shops in various Parts of the Metropolis, were looked to as furnishing a ready Resource upon Occasion, and as the Means of providing an abundant Supply of Arms to Persons already instructed in the Use of them.

The Committee has stated the Number, so far as already discovered, to be inconsiderable; but they must add, that after they supposed their Inquiry to be closed, a recent Discovery communicated to them has added largely to the Number.

The Use of Pikes formed a still more considerable Part of the intended Armament. The Effect of this Weapon had often been discussed at Meetings, and a Correspondence had been entered into with Persons at Sheffield for providing a Supply of them. The Price for the Iron Work was fixed so low as a Shilling; and if the
Cost

Cost exceeded that Amount, (which it appears it must have done) the Overplus was to be paid by a Person at Sheffield, who was to be reimbursed by the Society. In pursuance of this Plan, Letters, dated the 24th of April, were sent from Sheffield to the Corresponding Society, and, under their Cover, to another Society at Norwich, advertising them that the Pikes were in a forward State of Preparation, and fixing the Terms on which they were to be delivered.

The Committee think it proper to subjoin a Hand Bill, printed in April for the London Corresponding Society, and distributed at a Meeting :

“ Countrymen, you are told by those who are In Office that
 “ you are in Danger of a French Invasion ; you are told by
 “ those who are Out of Office that you are in Danger of a Hel-
 “ sian or Hanoverian Invasion : In either Case Arms will be of
 “ Use to you. Agree among yourselves. Get Arms, and learn
 “ the Use of them.”

At Sheffield, the Measure of arming with Pikes, after the Example of the French, was more openly pursued : It had been recommended in April last, in public Harangues, by a Person whose Name often occurs in the Course of this Conspiracy, but who has not yet been apprehended, to great Numbers of People, as well as by Hand Bills distributed, exciting them to arm. The Pikes were made under the Orders of that Person, who particularly directed the Form and Size of them. Several Persons were employed in the Manufacture, which was making a considerable Progress, before the Alarm given by the Apprehension of the Secretaries of the Two Societies in London. Besides the Pikes, another Sort of Instrument was produced at Sheffield, the Use of which was (as explained) to be thrown about in the Night on the Road, for laming the Men and the Horses who might be employed to quell any Commotions.

In the Progress of the Examinations into this Conspiracy, an accidental Discovery was made in Scotland, which has more fully explained the Extent of the Danger, and the ample Range of the whole Design.

From the Nature of the Proceedings carried on in Scotland, in consequence of that Discovery, it was impossible for the Committee to examine particularly into the Evidence of it ; they have therefore transmitted to the House the Information communicated to them on this Head, in the Form in which they have received it, and added it in an Appendix to the Report. All the Observations they are authorized to make upon it is, that the Evidence which they have examined, clearly proves, 1st. A decided Purpose of forming another British Convention in such central Place as should be afterwards communicated. 2d. Measures concerted, and in Part actually taken, for assembling that Convention. 3d. A Preparation of Arms to op-
 pose

pose and withstand any Attempt to disperse such a Meeting: 4th. A continued Connection and Correspondence between those Societies in England, by whose Co-operation these Measures were to be executed, and the leading Members of the former British Convention, which actually held its Meeting at Edinburgh in November 1793.

Upon the Subject of the Preparation of Arms, the Committee have been forced to enter into more Detail than was consistent with the general Plan of their Report in Respect to the other Parts of the Case, which was to state the general Result, and not the particular Circumstances.

On the most deliberate Consideration of all the Evidence before them, it appears to the Committee, that there are the most convincing Proofs, not only of a Plan formed in Theory, to procure, by legal Means, some partial Change of the Laws by which this Kingdom has been happily governed, but of a formed Conspiracy to assemble, under the Name of a Convention, a Number of Persons assuming to be the Representatives of the Nation, for the express Purpose of making their Resolutions to be Law, and of subverting, by their Authority, the whole Frame of the Government, and the Constitution of this Realm, its Monarchy, its Parliament, and its fundamental Laws.

That to effectuate the Purpose of this Conspiracy, Measures had been actually taken for an Arrangement and Distribution of the Persons seduced to engage in it, a Concert and Communication established between different Bodies of Men in different Parts of the Country, to assemble at some certain Time or Place, by some secret Concert and Direction, Consultations held of the Acts to be done for the Furtherance of this Conspiracy of the most traitorous Import, and Arms prepared and preparing for supporting, by Force, the sudden Execution of these daring and desperate Designs, the Success of which, if they could have succeeded, must have produced the total Subversion of the Constitution, with the Destruction of His Majesty's Person, Family and Government, and the Annihilation of our Laws and Liberties, and the mere Attempt of which, though we may justly conclude, that by the Loyalty of the Kingdom it must have been defeated, would have involved this Country in all the Horrors of Insurrection, from the Calamities of which we have now, by the Divine Providence, been happily exempted.

The Committee must farther observe, that there is also as strong a Degree of Evidence as the Nature of the Case will admit, that the Aim of the Leaders in this Conspiracy extended to as complete a Revolution in this Country, as that which has taken place in France since the Month of August 1792.

Their Adoption of the Principles and Opinions of the French Convention; their incessant Exertions to propagate the same Doctrines

trines here; their Attachment to the Interests of the French Revolutionary Government; their Persuasion that there was an intimate Connection between the Cause they meant to serve and the Success of the French, and even their Hope of deriving Assistance from the French Arms, appear not by loose Talk, but by the deliberate and advised Discourses held at their Meetings, by the written Correspondence of some of the most active Members, and by the Communications between the different Societies; Emissaries also have been sent by them among His Majesty's Troops, and Papers circulated in the vain hope of seducing them from their Loyalty; and Projects of the most desperate and flagitious Nature, respecting the Members of both Houses of Parliament, and even the Safety of His Majesty's most sacred Person and of His Royal Family, have not merely been uttered, but entertained and discussed amongst them.

The ostensible Object of the several Meetings whose Members were to be the Followers in this Conspiracy, namely, Parliamentary Reform, is a Pretext that could impose on none but the most credulous, ignorant, and unwary: The only Reform they ever professed was the Establishment of Universal Suffrage, and Annual Representation; these they had assumed and declared to be theirs by inherent and unalienable Right; a Right not to be relinquished but with their Lives, and which none but Thieves and Traitors could wish to withhold from them.

The assembling a Convention was evidently not for consulting upon the Fitness of the Measure, but to be itself the Means of obtaining it; and they had previously disclaimed, in the most express Terms, the only legal Means of obtaining any Change of the existing Laws by an Application to the Legislature, declaring that they must depend only on their own Strength and Courage, for obtaining of what they termed their Rights.

The necessary Result is, that the Application of Strength and Courage must have been the Object for which such an Assembly was to be called, it not being the Purpose of those who formed it to obtain Laws from any other authority but their own; having, not only in the private Meetings, but public Declarations, openly professed that they were to seek Redress from their own Laws, and not from the Laws of those they termed their Plunderers, Enemies, and Oppressors.

The Accomplishment of such a Purpose necessarily implies the Overthrow of all Subordination in the State, the Abolition of the established Form of Parliament, together with the Destruction of Hereditary Monarchy, and the Subversion of every Safeguard which the Wisdom of Ages has established in this happy Country for the Peace and Welfare of Society, for the Encouragement of Industry, Morality, and Religion, for the Protection of Innocence, and the Punishment of Vice, and for the secure Enjoyment of Property, of
 3 Liberty,

Liberty, and of Life itself. Under the Circumstances of these Designs, deliberately entertained, openly avowed, and on the very Point of being attempted to be executed, your Committee feel that they have executed their Duty in laying before your Lordships the important Result of their Inquiries; and that it becomes them to leave it to the Wisdom of your Lordships to consider what Steps it may be proper for this House to take, in Order to manifest its Abhorrence of this wicked Conspiracy; its Desire that every proper Measure may be exerted in order to give Energy and Vigour to the Execution of the Laws by which the Subjects of this Realm are protected against these criminal Purposes; and its Readiness to afford to His Majesty every Degree of Assistance and Support which is due from us as loyal and affectionate Subjects, and as Men deeply impressed with a Sense of the Value of the Blessings which we enjoy.

Appendix

TO THE

SECOND REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY

APPOINTED BY

THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Appendix

TO THE

SECOND REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRETARY

APPOINTED BY

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

APPENDIX.

N^o. 1.

Letter from the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Dundas to the Lord Privy Seal, dated Whitehall, May 19th, 1794, inclosing Four Drafts of Pikes, or Spear Heads.

Whitehall, May 19, 1794.

My Lord,

I HAVE received this Morning from the Sheriff Depute of the County of Edinburgh, authentic Information of an accidental Discovery, made on the 15th and 16th ult. ; the general Report of which I feel it proper to state to you, as it seems materially connected with the Inquiry in which the Secret Committee of the House of Lords is now engaged.

The Creditors of a Bankrupt having received Information that Part of his Goods had been embezzled, and were secreted in the House of an Individual, the usual Warrant was issued authorizing a Search to be made in the suspected Place ; and, in carrying it into Execution on the Afternoon of the 15th, the Officers discovered in a private Place, where they appeared to have been concealed, Twelve Pike or Spear Heads of the Construction and Dimensions in the inclosed Draught. The Proprietor of the House, who happened to be from Home at the Time, was soon thereafter taken into Custody ; and, on being carried before the proper Magistrate for Examination, refused to give any Account of these Weapons, to whom they belonged, or for what Purposes they were intended. On a more narrow Search, there was likewise discovered in a private and concealed Part of the House, Two other Pike or Spear Heads, similar to the others ; Two Battle Axes, of the Form and Dimensions delineated in the inclosed Paper ; and a Shaft or Pole with a Screw

on the End, fitted for receiving either the Spear Head, or Battle Axe.

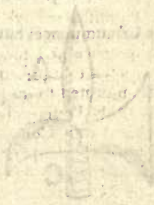
Immediate Inquiry being made after the Persons with whom this Individual had lately been seen in Company, and Two Blacksmiths being mentioned among them, their Houses and Shops were immediately searched; One of the Two was also taken into Custody, the other escaped and absconded.—In the Shop of the first of these Men were found Four Pike or Spear Heads finished, fitted with Screws and Sockets, and ready to be fixed on Shafts; Eight Battle Axes, also fitted and finished; and Twenty Blades more not quite finished, but nearly so.

In the Shop and Dwelling House of the other who had absconded, no such Weapons were found; but the Apprentices, on being examined before a Magistrate, acknowledged that the Pike or Spear Heads first discovered had been privately manufactured in their Master's Shop during the Course of this Fortnight past, and carried privately to his House as soon as completed.

The Battle Axes and Blades appear also to have been manufactured within this Fortnight past; and were intended, as the Maker of them said, for the Purpose of arming the People should an Invasion take place; but it appears, that to his Apprentices, whom he had employed in assisting him to make them, he pretended they were meant for a Gate: An Account obviously false, as he could not point out any Gate for which these Weapons were intended; nor name any Person who had ordered him to frame a Gate of so particular a Construction.

These Circumstances have induced the Magistrates to commit all the Persons concerned for Examination; and the Result of the Inquiries which are at present carrying forward, I expect will be regularly communicated to me. It is proper also to inform your Lordship, that all the Persons chiefly concerned appear to have been Members of the British Convention which met at Edinburgh last Winter, and since the Dispersion of it, have continued the most active and leading Persons in the Societies whose Delegates composed the principal Part of that Meeting; who appear at present taking Measures for calling another Convention of the same Nature, which they expected is to take place soon in England; and some of whom have acknowledged, that the Propriety of the Individuals composing these Societies arming themselves with Spears and Pikes, has, within these few Weeks past, been the Subject of Conversation amongst them, and Steps taken for carrying that Purpose into Execution with Caution and Secrecy.

The Silence of One of the Persons, the inconsistent and contradictory Account of the other, and the Flight of the Third, throw a very strong Suspicion on the Purposes and Intentions of the Parties concerned in this Transaction. The Sheriff is, in the Course of his Duty proceeding to investigate the Matter more accurately: But I consider it necessary and proper to communicate, through your Lordship to the Committee, Information so intimately connected with



No. 1.



A The Blade $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
B Socket for the insertion
of a staff.

Fourteen finished, at the house
of Robert Watt, Merchant;
two in the house of Robert
Orrock; eighteen unfinish-
ed in ditto.

No. 2.



A 10 inches,
B 6 inches.
C Screw, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

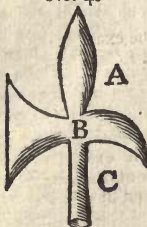
The screw is adapted for a fe-
male screw, on a staff $3\frac{1}{2}$
feet long. The other screws
are of the same dimensions.

No. 3.



A 12 inches.
B $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
C 2 inches.

No. 4.



A $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
B 9 inches.
C $\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

with the Object of Inquiries, however imperfect that Information still is; but which I have no Doubt will soon be completed.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

Humble Servant,

HENRY DUNDAS.

The most Noble
the Marquis of Stafford.

DRAUGHT, N^o. 1,

Referred to in Mr. Secretary Dundas's Letter, dated Whitehall, 19th May, 1794, contains the Dimensions of the Head of a Pike or Spear; Fourteen finished ones found in the House of Robert Watt, Merchant; Two finished ones were also found in the House of Robert Orrock, Smith, who acknowledged he made them; Eighteen unfinished ones were also found in the House or Shop of Orrock.

DRAUGHT, N^o. 2,

Contains the exact Dimensions of one Weapon found in the Possession of Robert Watt.

DRAUGHT, N^o. 3,

Contains the exact Dimensions of another Weapon found in the Possession of Robert Watt; also of an Iron Verral for putting on the End of a Staff or Pole.

DRAUGHT, N^o. 4,

Contains the exact Dimensions of a Weapon found in the Workshop of Robert Orrock, Smith, at Dean, near Edinburgh: Nine Others of the same kind were also found in the same Place.

* * *Vide the annexed fac similes of the above Pikes, &c.*

N^o. 2.

Letter from the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Dundas to the Lord Privy Seal, dated Whitehall, May 23d, 1794, inclosing Copy of a printed Paper, dated Dundee, 12th April, 1794.

Whitehall, 23 May, 1794.

My Lord,

I HAVE received this Morning farther Accounts from the Sheriff Depute of Edinburgh of the Transaction stated in my last Letter, and the Result of the Inquiries since made by that Magistrate, and which are still going forward, appear to me of such a Nature as to deserve the particular Attention of the Secret Committee.

One of the Individuals mentioned in my former Letter has since made a Disclosure; and a Person since taken into Custody, and who appears to have been privy to the whole Transaction, has confessed that these Weapons were the First of a very large Number and Quantity actually ordered to be made, and intended to be privately dispersed among the Members of the various Societies throughout Scotland, styling themselves Friends of the People, and who appear to be at present employed in taking Measures for calling together another British Convention of Delegates to be held in England. An Order has been given from One Town alone in Scotland for a large Quantity of Weapons of the Nature described; no less a Number than Four thousand has been mentioned, and more are intended to be distributed in Edinburgh. Emissaries appear also to have been dispatched within this Fortnight or Three Weeks past to the manufacturing Towns in the West of Scotland, for the Purpose of sounding the Inclinations of such of the Inhabitants there who are known to be Members of these Societies; and there is Reason to believe, from Information received from various different Quarters, that these Persons have by no Means been unsuccessful.

Paisley is in particular alluded to as being in a State of great Readiness; and there has been positive Information received through other Channels, that within these Three Weeks, Persons of that Description have assembled themselves to a very considerable Number in the Night Time for the Purpose of practising the Use of Arms. The Particulars of this Information, and the Extent to which these Meetings have proceeded, are at present Matter of Inquiry with the proper Magistrates of the Place, but the Result has not yet been received.

The Formation of this Plan is now traced Home to certain Persons; some of whom are in Custody, who appear to be entrusted by these Societies in Scotland with the most unlimited Powers in directing their future Proceedings, carrying on their Correspondence, and who

act

act as a Committee of Secrecy consisting of a certain Number of Persons the principal and most active Members of the British Convention. The choosing of Delegates to the expected Convention in England, the Place of whose Meeting is not yet divulged, and the raising of Contributions among the various Societies throughout Scotland for defraying the Charges of such Delegates, appear to be the material Part of their present Employment, and in which it would seem they have made some Progress; and it is the same Committee who have for these some Weeks past been consulting and taking Measures for arming themselves and the Members of the various Clubs with Pikes and Battle Axes, and who have employed the Persons above-mentioned in manufacturing them. The Scheme appears to have been first proposed and agreed upon about a Month ago; to have been since carried on with the utmost Secrecy and Caution; and the Weapons, so far as has yet been discovered, manufactured by such Persons, in such small Quantities, in such Circumstances, and under such Pretences, as not to render the Progress of the Work probably liable to Suspicion or Detection; and it was brought to light by the very accidental and singular Incident which I mentioned in my former Letter.

I have the Satisfaction of observing, that the Magistrates and Officers of the Law in Scotland have been and still continue active in the Searches and Inquiries making at the different suspected Places within their respective Jurisdictions. In Perth and Dundee nothing has been discovered which can lead me to believe, that Measures have been taken in either of these Places for making Arms, the Manufacture of which seems to have been confined to Edinburgh, and intended to have been gradually dispersed from thence to such Places as required them. No such Weapons have been discovered at Paisley or in its Neighbourhood, though the intention of arming and holding regular Nightly Meetings are perfectly ascertained.

Information has also been communicated, of the Authenticity of which there is no Room to doubt, that a Conspiracy has been formed, as soon as a proper Number of these Weapons were distributed among the Friends of the People in Edinburgh, to seize in the Night the Persons of the principal Magistrates and Officers of the Law, the Banks, the Public Offices, Guards, and Prison, and after enticing the Soldiery from the Castle, by kindling a Fire in the Middle of the City, to intercept them on their Return, by Means of different armed Parties to be properly stationed for that Purpose.

It appears likewise from indisputable Facts, that the most secret and artful Means have been and are still using with the Fencible Regiments in Scotland to excite them to Disobedience and Mutiny. The printed Paper which I herewith transmit, has been industriously circulated for that Purpose.

I have the Honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

Marquis of Stafford.

Humble Servant,

HENRY DUNDAS.

Inclosed

Inclosed in Mr. Dundas's Letter to Lord Privy Seal, dated
May 23d, 1794.

(Copy.)*

Friends and Brethren,

IT is with the greatest Pleasure that your Countrymen are informed, That such is your Attachment and Love to them, and to your Native Country, that you manfully and firmly resolve not to leave it upon any Terms contrary to those upon which you were first engaged. Your Countrymen love you; and their Hearts would be as much wounded to part with you, as yours would be to be separated from them. They well know that they are safe under the Protection of their *Fathers*, their *Sons*, their *Brothers in Arms*; and they neither wish nor desire any other Defenders.—They hope and believe that *your* Hearts are filled with the same Sentiments.

The great Mass of the *People* from amongst whom you have enlisted, have been represented to you as your Enemies;—believe not the assertion; they have been taught to consider *you* as Foes; but they do not fear finding Friends among their Brethren.

Their Cause and yours is the same.—They are poor, but they have honest Hearts; Hearts which sympathize in *your* Cause; they look for the same Friendship and the same Sympathy in *you*. They rejoice to hear that you are becoming daily more convinced of the great Truth that the *Law* ought to be the same to the *Highlander* and to † *Lowlander*; to the Rich and to the *Poor*; and that no Man can be compelled to take up Arms, by *any Authority whatsoever*, unless *his own Inclinations prompt him so to do*.

This Truth has been hitherto carefully concealed from you, but it is not less certain. The Will of your *Laird* cannot *without your own consent*, separate you from your Families and Friends, although many of you may have experienced the Exertions of such a Power, however unjust, and however contrary to Law.

We respect and admire the Principle which induces you (though Necessity has compelled you to take up Arms) still to persist in remaining to defend your Friends at Home; and not to quit a Country which holds Pledges so dear.

When *you* are gone, where is their Defence?—They may be either left *without protection*, or may soon see their Country over-run by *Foreign Troops*; such as in Time past have already shed the Blood of your Ancestors without Provocation, and without Remorse; and who would feel perhaps as little Compunction in shedding *theirs*.

Prepared for every Deed of Horror, these Foreign Mercenaries may *violate the Chastity* of your Wives, your Sisters, and your Daughters, and, when Desire is satiated, *Cruelty* may resume its Place in their Hearts, as Experience has too well and too fatally shewn; and Friends, Parents, Children, Brothers, may be involved

* The Words in *Italicks* are in large Letters in the printed Copy.

† Sic. in Orig.

in one Common Slaughter. The cruel Massacre of Glencoe cannot yet be forgotten :—Are there not amongst you whose Forefathers perished there ?—Their Hearts, throbbing with Kindness and Hospitality, were pierced with the Daggers of their treacherous Guests ; and the Feast prepared by the Hand of unsuspecting Friendship was closed with a scene of Blood !—Such is the Return for Kindness and Hospitality !—Such the Protection which your Families have to expect !!!

How will they then look around in vain for *your* protecting Care, when perhaps you are fighting at a Distance in a Foreign Land ?—But they hope you will not forsake them.—Stay, oh stay, and defend your Families and Friends !—*for that Purpose alone you were enlisted.*—They are ready to come forward for *you* in the Vindication of *your Rights*.

Thousands join in the same Sentiments with *you*, and ardently wish for your Continuance amongst them. The Circumstances which might require you to quit your Country *have not yet taken place.*—No Invasion has yet happened.—You cannot be *compelled* to go.—Leave not your Country—Assert your independence.—Your Countrymen will look up to *you* as their *Protectors* and *Guardians*, and will in *their* Turn lift up their Arms to protect and assist *you*.

Dundee, April 12th, 1794.

N^o. 3.

Letter from the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Dundas to the Lord Privy Seal, dated Whitehall, 24th May, 1794.

Whitehall, 24th May, 1794.

My Lord,

I HAVE received no further Accounts of the Result of the Inquiries going on in Edinburgh ; but I am sorry to state that I have received Information from the Sheriff of the County of Renfrew, confirmed by Letters received from other respectable Persons in Paisley, that the Magistrates of that Place having, in the Course of their Inquiries, committed on the Afternoon of the 19th a Man to Custody for further Examination, a considerable Number of Persons (several Hundreds assembled in the Evening, and after choosing a President, whom they addressed by the Title of Citizen President) voted a Number of Resolutions to the following Purpose :

That a National Convention should be immediately called, to which they would send Delegates.

That they should not petition Parliament, as it was to themselves alone, and to such Convention, they could look for Redress.

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They

They then proceeded to consider the Conduct of the Sheriff and Magistrates in committing their Brother Citizen, as he was termed; And after much Discussion as to the Propriety of immediately releasing him by Force, the Majority seemed inclined to take mild Measures first, and to send a Deputation to ask his Release; but the Magistrates having received Information of what was intended, and dismissed the Man from Custody, the Mob dispersed with Three Cheers, having been previously instructed by their President to abstain from further Tumult, and to observe a peaceable and orderly Conduct.

The Authority of the Civil Magistrate is in the mean Time entirely superseded, and until a proper Force is sent to protect them in the future Execution of their Duty, which has been anxiously required by the Sheriff and Magistrates, they dare not proceed in the common Course of legal and judicial Inquiry against any of the Persons who are suspected of being concerned in these violent and tumultuary Proceedings. But it cannot escape the Observation of the Committee, how accurately this Intelligence corresponds with, and confirms the Information Yesterday communicated, as to the State of the Minds of these People in that Neighbourhood, the Alarm which their Leaders feel as to the Result of the legal Inquiries at present depending, and the regular systematic Connection between them and the Leaders at Edinburgh, as discovered from the yet unfinished and hasty Examinations taken in that City.

I have the Honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

The most Noble

Humble Servant,

The Marquis of Stafford

HENRY DUNDAS.

N^o. 4.

Letter from the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Dundas to the Lord Privy Seal, dated Whitehall, 27th May, 1794.

Whitehall, 27th May, 1794.

My Lord,

I HAVE this Morning received farther Information from Scotland, which appears to me proper to be communicated to the Committee.

The Persons in whose Custody the Weapons formerly described were found, appear to have acted for some Time past under the Name of a Committee of Ways and Means appointed by the British Convention; and to have been empowered by the various Societies throughout Scotland to direct all their future proceedings, by Means of Emisseries privately dispatched to different Parts of the Country.

The Committee has signified to, and prepared a Number of the Societies for the approaching Convention in England; many of whom have

have chosen, and all, as far as is yet known, agreed to choose Delegates to attend it, and subscribe for their Expences. The Time and Place of Meeting was not divulged; and were to be communicated from Edinburgh, in proper Time, by Individuals to be sent from thence for that Purpose, whose Arrival was daily looked for by several of the different Societies. One of the Members of the late Convention at Edinburgh appears, within this Fortnight past, to have been dispatched, and to have actually performed an extensive Tour through the West Part of Scotland; to have visited, in his Progress, the Towns of Queensferry, Falkirk, Stirling, St. Ninians, Killyth, Kirkintulloch, Camprie, Glasgow, and Paisley; in all of which Places he appears to have met with the principal Persons concerned in these Societies; to have left with them and the Members of the Societies Copies of a circular Letter from the Committee of Edinburgh, and instructed them in what Manner they were in future to carry on their Correspondence; and to have suggested to them the Propriety of furnishing themselves with Arms for the Purposes of Defence, under the Pretence of defending themselves against Foreign Troops.

An Attempt has been made to distribute some of the Weapons lately discovered at Edinburgh, by Means of Persons privately dispatched to the Country for that Purpose, and which seems only to have failed in its Execution from the Timidity of the Persons solicited to do so.

An Individual of the same Description has been taken into Custody in the Country, who appears to have commissioned, and actually received from England some Muskets and Bayonets; On being questioned by the proper Magistrate, he has refused giving any Explanation farther than that he commissioned them in the Way of his Business.—But it does not appear that he ever dealt in such Articles before; no Person appears to have commissioned him to procure any such, and there seems to be full Evidence of his having solicited others to purchase what they of themselves were not thinking of, or wishing to provide.

He admits having corresponded with the London Corresponding Society on the Subject of a Convention, and that the Society, of which he is a Leader, had agreed to send Delegates to it as soon as the Time and Place of Meeting should be divulged.

A Requisition has been made by the Magistrates and principal Inhabitants of Paisley for a Military Force to protect them in the Execution of their Duty, and in their Persons and Properties, which has been duly attended to. It is with much Satisfaction I inform your Lordship, that the Gentlemen of Estate and Character in the County of Renfrew have voluntarily stepped forward, and determined to support the Authority of the Civil Magistrate.

I have the Honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

Humble Servant,

HENRY DUNDAS.

N^o. 5.

Letter from the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Dundas to the Lord Privy Seal, dated Whitehall, 2d June 1794.

Whitehall, 2d June, 1794.

My Lord,

THE Information I have received this Morning from Edinburgh enables me to state to the Committee, that the Transactions communicated in my former Letters are farther cleared up by the Inquiries which have since taken Place in that City.

Some of the Persons who absconded on the First Discovery of the Arms concealed in certain Houses have been discovered and apprehended; and the Result of these farther Inquiries confirms, in almost every Particular, the Account received from other Quarters, and the Import of which I have already laid before the Committee. The Establishment of a Secret Committee at Edinburgh, invested with full Powers to direct the future Operations of the Societies throughout Scotland; the regular Correspondence privately carried on by Means of Emissaries dispatched to the different Towns; the ascertaining the exact Number of Persons in these Societies, who were directed to provide themselves with Arms, and to hold themselves in Readiness for any Measure which the Secret Committee might in due Time communicate, are confirmed by every Account and Information which the Magistrates have received: And an Individual, who has been lately taken into Custody, has confirmed the Account received from a different Quarter of the dangerous Design, planned by the Edinburgh Committee, of effecting a general Insurrection as soon as they were ready and prepared for carrying it into Execution, by the Seizure of the principal Magistrates and Officers of the Law at Midnight, and possessing themselves of the Prisons and Public Offices, as stated to your Lordship in my Letter of the 23d of May, and then communicated through a different Channel from that through which the present Confirmation of these Circumstances has been received. The Plan seems not only to have been discussed and deliberated on by the Ringleaders at Edinburgh, but to have proceeded a certain Degree in its Steps towards actual Execution, which appear to have been conducted with the utmost Caution; and there is Reason to believe, that the Execution of the Plan was not to be confined to Edinburgh, but was meant to take place in some of the most considerable Towns in Scotland on a certain Day, and at one and the same Time. The proper and usual Steps have been taken for bringing the Offenders to Trial; and those against whom the Information chiefly points, are detained in Custody.

I have the Honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

Humble Servant,

HENRY DUNDAS,

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

SECOND REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY,

To whom the several Papers referred to in His Majesty's Message of the 12th Day of May 1794, and which were presented (sealed up) to the House of Commons, by Mr. Secretary DUNDAS, upon the 12th and 13th Days of the said Month, by His Majesty's Command, were referred; and who were directed to examine the Matters thereof, and report the same, as they should appear to them, to the House;

WITH

AN APPENDIX.

Ordered to be printed the 16th of June, 1794.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. DEBRET, Opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly.

M,DCC,XCIV.

SUPPLEMENT

SECOND REPORT

COMMITTEE OF SECRETARY

to whom the several papers referred to in His Majesty's
 Message of the 17th Day of May 1794, and which were
 presented (brought up) to the House of Commons, by the
 Secretary of the House, upon the 13th and 14th Days of the
 said Month, by His Majesty's Command, were referred;
 and who were directed to examine the Matters therein, and
 report the same, as they should appear to them, to the

AN APPENDIX

Ordered to be printed the 10th of June, 1794.

LONDON:

Printed for J. DODD, Opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly.

MDCXCIV.

SUPPLEMENT, &c.

SINCE the Second Report of the Committee was presented to the House, a Letter has been received by the Chairman of the Committee from Mr. Grey, a Member of this House, and One of the Members of the Society of the Friends of the People, on the Subject of the Correspondence between that Society and the Scotch Convention.

From One of the Enclosures transmitted by Mr. Grey, it appears that the Letters of the Secretary of the Friends of the People, dated the 23d July and 29th October, (vide page 40, printed Report,) which are referred to in the Second Report, were written without any Authority from the Society, or from any Committee of the Society, and are considered by him as only private and personal Communications from himself: Although this Circumstance did not distinctly appear on the Face of the Letters, there is nothing in the Manner in which they are referred to by your Committee inconsistent with it; and although your Committee, on examining these Papers, find nothing in their former Statement erroneous; yet, being desirous of putting the House fully in Possession of all the additional Information which they have received on this Subject, they have thought that the most satisfactory Way of doing so, is to subjoin the Papers communicated by Mr. Grey, without any Comment on the Observations and Reasoning therein contained.

A P P E N D I X.

Appendix No. 1.

Chapel Street, June 14th.

SIR,

UPON seeing, in the Second Report of the Secret Committee, the Society of the Friends of the People introduced as acting in Concert and Correspondence with the Scotch Convention, I thought it necessary to

make immediate Enquiry of the Secretary, as to the Circumstances of any Communication that might have passed between them.—The Result of that Enquiry, which I desired him to state to me by Letter, I have now the Honor of inclosing to you, in order that you may have an Opportunity, if you think it material to do so, of correcting what appears to me to be an erroneous Statement in the Report of the Committee. I have also inclosed a printed Copy of the Proceedings of the Scotch Convention, previous to the Time of the only Communication ever made by them to the Friends of the People, in December 1792, that it may be seen to what the Vote of Thanks, inserted in the Report, really referred.

I have the Honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

The Right Hon. Wm. Pitt.

C. GREY.

Appendix, No. 2.

Frith Street, Soho; Wednesday Evening, June 11th, 1794.

SIR,

IN compliance with your Desire of being accurately informed what Correspondence the Friends of the People in London have had with the Convention in Scotland, or with Mr. Skirving, its Secretary, I send you the following Particulars, which contain not only the Substance of the Communications with the Society, but also of those I have personally made, and of the whole Subject, as far as it has come within my Knowledge.

The First Convention at Edinburgh, in favour of Parliamentary Reform, consisted exclusively of Delegates from the different Societies of the Friends of the People in Scotland. By their Minutes they appear to have declined communicating with any Society which did not take that Title. They first met on the 11th of December 1792, and sat only Three Days. Their Name of "*Convention*" was familiar to Meetings in Scotland; and they stated the Object of their Institution to have been to consolidate the common Strength of the Friends of Reform in that Part of the Country; which is the very same Reason given for the Establishment of a similar Body, for a similar Purpose, in London, in 1780.

In their last Sitting, on the 13th of December, they voted that certain Resolutions should be sent to the Friends of the People in London; which, together with the Letter inclosing them, I herewith transmit. This was the only Communication made from that Body. The Answer to it stated, that by some Accident the Resolutions mentioned in the Letter were not inclosed; but that the Society had seen them in the Newspapers: It also assured them of the Approbation and Concurrence of the Friends of the People in London, according to the Terms of their several Declarations. I afterwards received printed Copies of its Proceedings, in December 1792 and May 1793, and could not perceive any Thing in them that was not strictly confined to a reasonable Parliamentary Reform.

On

On the 2d of May 1793, after having sat Three Days, it adjourned till October. Many Gentlemen of great Respectability and of large Property were Members of it. The Magistrates of Edinburgh did not molest, or, as far as ever I could learn, even blame it. And when, in the House of Commons, the Question of Parliamentary Reform was so fully discussed, on the 6th and 7th of May 1793, in which the Subject of a National Convention was introduced and reprobated, the slightest Notice was not taken of the Convention at Edinburgh, though it had assembled in the preceding December and published its Proceedings, and had again assembled, Seven Days before that Debate, for the Purpose of collecting and forwarding many of the very Petitions in Favour of Reform, which were then under Discussion;---a Business which it publicly avowed, and which many Days prior to the Debate was published in the London Newspapers.

The next Letter received from Mr. Skirving, so far as I recollect, was in the Middle of October 1793; it was signed by him, as Secretary to the Society of the Friends of the People in Edinburgh, and not as Secretary to the Convention. It solicited the Society of the Friends of the People in London to send Delegates to the ensuing Convention of the Friends of the People at Edinburgh, appointed for the 29th of the same Month. I shewed the Letter to Two or Three Members who happened to be then in Town, and they agreed with me that I ought to send an Answer to the following Effect:---Acquainting Mr. Skirving, That on a Subject so important as that of sending Delegates to the Convention at Edinburgh, it would be necessary to consult the Society; but that the Shortness of the Time rendered it impossible to give proper Notice, first for calling the Committee, (which was not then sitting, and which alone could assemble the Society) and then for calling a General Meeting; the Shortness of the Time I represented as the more objectionable in that Season of the Year, when very few Members were in Town. I, however, told him that I had consulted some Members on the Subject, and they had agreed with me, without deciding on the Propriety of the Measure that the Notice was insufficient, and that therefore his Request could not be complied with. I added, that it was highly probable some Members of the Society, then in Scotland, would be present, and that whatever they agreed to I had no Doubt the Society would confirm. I said Lord Lauderdale might perhaps attend. No Person in London saw this Answer after it was drawn up. It was entirely of my own writing; and I think it was stated in it that it was merely a private personal Communication from myself.

I afterwards understood that the Convention of Delegates from the Friends of the People in Scotland assembled accordingly on the 29th of October, and sat, as they had done at their former Meetings, Two or Three Days. They confined themselves strictly, and I believe sincerely, to the Business of Parliamentary Reform, and then adjourned for several Months. Soon after their Adjournment, however, the Delegates from the Societies in London and other Parts of England arrived. The Convention then re assembled on the 19th of November; and it was not till after this Period that it assumed the Name of The British Convention instituted for the Purpose of obtaining Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments, or adopted any Part of the Language or Conduct which
(with

(with what Justice I do not pretend to determine) have exposed it to so much Animadversion and Censure.

This is the whole of the Correspondence, as far as I can recollect, that passed between the Friends of the People in London and the Convention, or Mr. Skirving, at Edinburgh. The Correspondence that took place between Mr. Skirving and myself, could not, from Circumstances which occur in my Mind, be very important. He sent me the printed Minutes of the Convention, and I sent him the Publications of the Friends of the People in London. The last Time I wrote to him was about the End of October, acknowledging the Receipt of some Copies of Mr. Muir's Trial; and I perfectly remember concluding my Letter with a Hope that the Delegates from the Societies in London, who had then just departed to meet the Convention in Edinburgh, would not import into Scotland any of that intemperate Spirit which had brought Blame on the moderate and sincere Friends of Reform in England: I hoped that the Friends of the People in Scotland would continue to persevere with that Prudence and Moderation in the Cause of Parliamentary Reform, which had so justly obtained them the Approbation of the Friends of the Measure in England, — This Letter, I suppose, displeased Mr. Skirving, for he never after wrote to me, nor did I write to him.

Having now detailed the Whole of the Correspondence, to the best of my Remembrance, between the Convention and the Friends of the People in London, and between Mr. Skirving and myself, I think it my Duty to observe, without presuming to give any Opinion on the Conduct of the British Convention, that a material Distinction ought to be drawn between it and the Convention of the Friends of the People. The Proceedings of the latter, at their Meetings in December, 1792, and May 1793, appear to me to have been such as the most timid Friend to Parliamentary Reform could not object to. Their Proceedings at their Meeting in October, were, I believe, of the same Description. When they assembled with the Delegates from England, indeed, another System seems to have been pursued. Their Meetings had always sat only Three Days at a Time, and they were settled to be held only Twice a Year. But after it became the British Convention, they then, and not till then, entered into all those Measures at which the Magistrates and Government have expressed so much alarm; and it was not till then that they even declared decisively in favour of Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments; it is therefore extremely material to remark, that no Blame has yet been thrown on the Convention of the Friends of the People at Edinburgh; and that between the *British* Convention and the Friends of the People in London no Correspondence of any Kind ever took place, nor even any Sort of Communication between Mr. Skirving and myself after its Institution.

I have the Honour to be,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

DANIEL STUART.

To Charles Grey, Esq. M. P.

P. S. Since

P. 8. Since writing the above, I have seen the Second Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, in which Mention is made of Two Letters that had escaped my Memory. The first of those Letters, containing a Resolution of Thanks, I never made any Minute of, because those Thanks were not voted to the Scotch Convention in particular, as might be imagined from the Statement in the Report, but were passed generally to all Societies which had assisted in the Cause of Parliamentary Reform.—After the Motion in the House of Commons, on the 6th of May, 1793, the Society of the Friends of the People in London, on the 18th of the same Month, agreed to the following Resolution: “That the Thanks of this Society “be returned to the various Societies in Correspondence with it, for “their Zeal and Activity in the Cause of Parliamentary Reform; and “to express a Hope and Wish that they will proceed with the same “Spirit, Industry, and Temper, during the Interval between the present “Time and the Meeting of the next Session of Parliament.”—Besides sending Copies of this Resolution to the different Societies in England, it was resolved that Copies of it should be sent to the Chairmen of the Societies in Edinburgh and Glasgow, requesting them to transmit the same to all the Societies in Scotland, with which they corresponded. The Convention at Edinburgh was considered by me, not only as a Society with which the Friends of the People in London communicated, but as the best Channel for conveying the Resolution of Thanks over Scotland; and I of course sent them a Copy. But I do not find, nor do I believe, that I was instructed to address the Resolution to the Convention, in preference to the Edinburgh Society of Friends of the People.

With regard to the Second Letter mentioned in the Report, dated the 23d of July, 1793, I do not, in the slightest Degree, remember it; but from the Passage there quoted, I have not the least Doubt of its being mine: It contains the Language I have invariably held whenever the Subject of a Convention has been mentioned. But it is impossible I at that Time could have written *as Secretary*, either in the Name of the Society, which was not then sitting, it having adjourned on the 4th of June, 1793, without again meeting till the 23d of January, 1794; or in the Name of the Committee, which did not meet from the 30th of April, 1793, till the 17th of January, 1794: And as neither the Society nor the Committee ever authorized me to correspond in their Name, without their Knowledge, the Letter of the 23d of July must have been a private and personal One of my own. I find that on the 20th of that Month, I received a Parcel of the printed Minutes of the Convention, accompanied by a Letter from Mr. Skirving, in his own Name only, and not in the Name of any Society, in which I suppose he took that Opportunity of wishing to know my Opinion respecting a Convention in England. Of such private personal Letters I have written many, but as I did not consider them to concern the Society, I never kept Copies of them. I am, however, certain, that if they were all published, none of them, or even any Parts of them, could with Justice be censured.

The Third Letter mentioned in the Report, is of the same private personal Nature with the Second: I think I wrote it in Haste, and I remember it the more particularly, as it was the last I sent to Mr. Skirving.

ving. I am very certain that when it is published in the Appendix, it will fully justify the Account I have already given of it in the Body of this Letter.

Thursday, 4 o'Clock.

Appendix, No. 3.

SIR,

I HAVE the Honour to inform the Friends of the People in London, that the General Convention of Delegates from the various Societies of the Friends of the People throughout Scotland, unanimously agreed on Thursday last, the Third Day of their sitting in this Place, to address the Friends of the People in London, and the inclosed Letter of Address was accordingly ordered to be printed and transmitted.

I have taken upon me to direct the same to you, upon seeing your Name at their Resolutions, by this Day's Post; and to intreat you to communicate it at their First Meeting.

I will transmit all the Proceedings of the Convention so soon as the various Minutes and Resolutions are received from the Pres.

With great Esteem,

Edinburgh, 19th Dec.

1792.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

W. SKIRVING, Secretary.

Samuel Whitbread, Junior, Esq.

M. P. London.

Appendix, No. 4.

Edinburgh, Dec. 12th,

AT a General Convention of the Delegates of the Friends of the People, held this Day,

COL. DALRYMPLE, in the Chair,

Resolved,

That it appears to this Convention, that very great Abuses have arisen in the Government of this Country, from a Neglect of the genuine Principles of the Constitution; that these Abuses have of late grown to an alarming Height, and produced great Discontents.

Resolved, That the essential Measures to be pursued, in order to remove these Abuses, and effectually to do away their mischievous Consequences, are,

1st. To restore the Freedom of Election, and an equal Representation of the People in Parliament.

2d. To

2d. To secure to the People a frequent Exercise of their Right of electing their Representatives.

Resolved, That for the Purpose of accomplishing these Constitutional Objects, the proper and legal Method is that of applying by Petition to Parliament.

Resolved, That since a speedy and complete Redress of our present Grievances, will most effectually be obtained by the joint Co-operation of every Briton, who yet retains the Spirit and the Wish to be free, this Convention will, as far as their Principles and Objects allow them, co-operate with the Society of the Friends of the People in London.

Resolved, That this Resolution, along with those voted at a former Convention, be transmitted by the Chairman to the Society of the Friends of the People in London.

(Signed) WILLIAM DALRYMPLE, Chairman.

WILLIAM SKIRVING, Secretary.

Appendix, No. 5.

The Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Convention of the Delegates, from the Societies of the Friends of the People throughout Scotland, at their several Sitzings in Edinburgh, on the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth of December, 1792.
—Edinburgh: Printed by J. Robertson, No. 39, South Bridge.
Anno 1793.

Baxter's Hall, Edin. Tuesday, Dec. 11, 1792.

AT Noon, this Day, the Delegates from the several Societies of the Friends of the People, throughout Scotland, assembled very numerously in their Convention Room here, in compliance with the following public Advertisements,

SIX,

The Convention of Delegates from the various Societies of THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE, in and about Edinburgh, who assembled here upon the Twenty-First instant, expressed an unanimous wish for a General Convention of Delegates, from the various Societies in Scotland, established on similar Principles.

If it shall meet the approbation of the majority of the Societies, they propose to hold a Convention, upon the Eleventh Day of December next, in the City of Edinburgh.

The various advantages which will result to the whole, from a consolidation of our common strength, are too obvious to be detailed. If you approve of this Measure, and resolve to send Delegates, inform us, in course of post. It shall be our Care to prepare a proper Place for
C Meeting,

Meeting, of which we shall give you timely and regular Notice. Be pleased to direct your Letters to our Secretary, Mr. William Skirving, Head of the Horsewynd, Edinburgh.

By Order of the Committee of Convention,

W. SKIRVING, *Secretary.*

EDINBURGH,

Nov. 23. 1792.

D. S. We must request of your Society, to communicate this Intimation to any Societies in your Neighbourhood, of whose Existence, in consequence of their not having published their Declaration of Principles, we may be ignorant.

A Convention of Delegates from every Society of Friends of the People in Scotland, will be held at Edinburgh, in Baxter's Hall, in James's Court, on Tuesday the Eleventh of December next, at Twelve o'Clock, at Noon, against which Time the General Committee shall have every thing prepared for the reception of the Delegates.

After a short Conversation, Messrs. Bell, Muir, and Skirving, the present President, Vice-President, and Secretary, of the Edinburgh General Association of the Friends of the People, were requested to officiate in their several capacities, until the powers of the Delegates should be verified.

Mr. HUGH BELL, in the Chair.

The Commissions to the several Delegates were produced, and read. The roll being made up, was called over, name by name, and intimation several times made, that if the name of any Delegate had been omitted, it should now be given in. The Convention was then declared assembled; and the President, Vice-President, and Secretary, retired.

General Convention Assembled.

Some Conversation took place relative to the Office Bearers and Committees, and the impropriety of having these permanent. The Convention, at length, on the Motion of Lord Daer, resolved, That they would elect a President each Day, or Sitting; and, upon a Motion by Thomas Muir, younger, Esq. of Hunterhill, it was resolved, That the Secretary should be permanent.

Lieut. Col. Dalrymple, of Fordel, was then unanimously called to the Chair; and W. Skirving, of Strathruddy, elected Secretary.

COL. DALRYMPLE, in the Chair.

After some Motions relating to order, moved by Lord Daer and Mr. Fowler, and ordered to be laid upon the Table, in Writing, the Convention proceeded to a Declaration of Principles; and a Scroll of Resolutions being presented by John Morthland, Esq. Advocate, the Convention, upon his Motion, resolved itself into a Committee, to consider the same, and to report against To-morrow's Sitting.

Resumed the Convention.

COL.

COL. DALRYMPLE in the Chair.

Mr. Muir moved, That the two Motions made by Capt. Johnston, resolved and published by the General Association of the Friends of the People in and about Edinburgh, be also adopted and published as the Resolutions of the General Convention. The same was agreed to unanimously, and a copy, drawn up in proper form, was ordered to be laid before the Convention to-morrow. A Motion was made to adjourn till six o'clock in the evening; but as this was opposed, it was agreed to adjourn till 10 o'clock next forenoon.

Convention Room, Wednesday, 10 o'Clock.

The Delegates assembled conform to the adjournment. Lord Daer moved, that the President of the former day take the Chair till the Meeting was full, and that then they should elect their President for the day, agreeable to their former Resolution; and the same was adopted.

COL. DALRYMPLE in the Chair.

Lord Daer, as ordered yesterday, gave in to the table the following Motions:

1. That it shall *not* be a rule, that when a Motion is made and seconded, it shall be decided upon before any other be heard.

2. That when a subject is announced as the business for consideration, it shall be permitted to any person to propose what motions thereon he shall think it is proper should be adopted; and that when all the motions are laid on the table which any wish to propose, a vote shall be put, which proposal shall be first taken into consideration.

3. That when any business is under consideration, any incidental motion may be introduced; and if the Meeting choose not to take it into consideration at that moment, the Meeting shall declare this, by resolving to *pass on to the ordinary course of business*.

4. That any Motion may be discussed the day it is proposed; but that it shall not be finally decided or published to the world, till it be confirmed next day.

The Meeting being now full, Lord Daer was unanimously called to the Chair.

LORD DAER in the Chair.

Mr. Muir rose to read a printed paper which had been sent from Ireland, intitled, Address of the United Irishmen in Dublin to the Delegates for Reform in Scotland; the reading of it was opposed in point of form, the same not being before the House; but the Address being declared a masterly performance, and a Declaration that afforded the most flattering evidence of the union and philanthropy of the Friends of Reform in Ireland, the reading of it was universally called for. After reading the same, the Convention passed to the Order of the Day.

Lord Daer being obliged to leave the Meeting, the last Preses was called to the Chair as a matter of course.

COL. DALRYMPLE in the Chair.

The Report of the Committee was called for, the Resolutions adopted in Committee were read, and debated paragraph by paragraph, when the following were, with great unanimity, resolved in Convention, and ordered to be published

Resolved, That this Convention, taking under consideration the insidious, wicked, and inflammatory artifices, employed by the enemies of all Reform, to misrepresent and calumniate the Friends of the People, as the promoters of public discord, and advocates for an unjust and absurd violation of private property, by an equal division—think it incumbent upon them to declare, that they hold all such unprincipled designs in utter detestation and abhorrence, and that they will maintain the established Constitution of Great Britain, on its genuine acknowledged principles, consisting of Three Estates—King, Lords, and Commons,

Resolved, That the Members of this Convention will, to the utmost of their power, concur in aiding and strengthening the hands of the Civil Magistrates throughout this kingdom, to repress riot and tumult, and all attempts whatsoever to disturb the tranquillity, happiness, and good order of society.

Resolved, That it appears to this Convention, that very great abuses have arisen in the government of this country, from a neglect of the genuine principles of the Constitution; that these abuses have of late grown to an alarming height, and produced great discontents.

Resolved, That the essential measures to be pursued in order to remove these abuses, and effectually to do away their mischievous consequences, are,

First, To restore the Freedom of Election, and an Equal Representation of the People in Parliament. And,

Secondly, To secure to the People a frequent exercise of their Right of Electing their Representatives.

Resolved, That, for the purpose of accomplishing these constitutional objects, the proper and legal method is, that of applying by Petition to Parliament.

Resolved, That these Resolutions be printed in the Scots and English Newspapers; and also be printed in hand-bills, for general distribution among the Associated Friends of the People, in different parts of Scotland.

Adjourned till Six o'Clock in the Evening.

Convention Hall, Wednesday, 6 o'Clock.

COL. DALRYMPLE in the Chair.

The Secretary presented the Plan of Organization for individual Societies, for District Associations, and for General Conventions; together with a written motion by Mr. Fowler, for a Committee of Publications, for the purpose of communicating Instruction. The same were received; and Messrs. Wilson and Fowler were requested to bring them before the House at a proper opportunity.

Mr. Muir and others brought forward the following Motions, which were unanimously adopted; namely,

Resolved,

Resolved, That this Convention do address the Friends of the People at London.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Convention be returned to Messrs. Grey, Erskine, the Earl of Lauderdale, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Col. McLeod, Lord Daer, and Col. Dalrymple, for their patriotic services in the cause of the People: To J. H. Tooke, Esq. for his masterly support of Freedom: To the Hon. Major Maitland, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Muir, Mr. Bell, and Capt. Johnston, for their important assistance to overturn corruption; also to the Right Hon. Charles Fox, for his determined speech in the last meeting of the Whig Club; and lastly, to all those Members of the House of Commons, who have supported in Parliament the cause of the People.

Agreed to Capt. Johnston's two Resolutions of yesterday, which are as follow:

Resolved, That it be recommended to each Society of the Friends of the People, to expunge from the roll of their Members the name or names of any individual or individuals who may have acted illegally, tumultuously, or in any way to the disturbance of the public peace.

Resolved, That any individual or individuals of the Societies of the Friends of the People whose conduct may have been legal and orderly, and who may be persecuted by the arm of Power for adhering to the cause of the People, be defended by the united strength of the Friends of the People.

The five following Motions, which Mr. Skirving proposed, were ordered to lie on the table:

I. That the Friends of the People in Britain should unite in the application to Parliament, both as to the extent of Reform to be demanded, and as to the manner of executing their Petition for the same.

II. That, therefore, this Convention should send two or three Deputies to London, to concert a common plan with the Friends of the People there, advising always with the General Committees at Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c.

III. That these Committees, while the Deputies remain at London, should meet weekly, in order to instruct the Deputies from time to time.

IV. That when a common plan of operation is thus procured, a General Convention be called to approve or amend the same, and particularly to direct the manner in which the Petitions shall be executed and presented to Parliament.

V. That the Convention recommend, that the Friends of the Constitution and of the People be, in the mean time, diligent in forming themselves every where into Societies, in order to give the greater energy to their Petitions.

Mr. Allan proposed the following to be added to the Resolutions already adopted;

That, in order to supersede the necessity of constantly resorting to the aid of a military force, it be recommended by the Convention to the Associated Friends of the People in the different parts of the country, to hold themselves in readiness to support the Civil Magistrate, when required, for the suppression of any popular tumults that may arise in their neighbourhood.

This

This Motion was deferred, on account of its importance, till next day.

Mr. Muir moved, to appoint a Committee of Finance; and the following regulations were unanimously adopted; namely,

Resolved, That each District Association shall have a Committee for regulating their own respective Finances—That the several Committees of Finance shall correspond with the Edinburgh Committee of Finance, as the Committee also of Finance for the General Convention, and remit to this Committee, as such, their respective contributions for the public interest.

Resolved, That this Committee of General Finance, in Edinburgh, shall lay before each Convention a state of the receipt and expenditure.

Resolved, That the Convention, on the first day of their sitting, appoint a Committee of Constraint, for the purpose of inspecting the accounts of the Convention's Committee of Finance; and report the result of their examination to the Convention.

A motion that had been formerly made verbally, and adopted in the resolutions, to petition Parliament, was resumed; and the Convention resolved to petition Parliament with all convenient speed; and a Committee was appointed to draw up a schedule of said Petition, and to present the same to-morrow.

Adjourned till ten o'clock to-morrow.

Convention Hall, Thursday, 10 o'Clock.

The Delegates convened conform to adjournment; Col. Dalrymple in the Chair.

Mr. Morthland moved, to have the two following Resolutions added to the former ones:

Resolved, That since a speedy and complete redress of our present grievances will be most effectually obtained by the joint co-operation of every Briton, who yet retains the spirit and the wish to be free, this Convention will, as far as their principles and objects will allow them, co-operate with the Society of the Friends of the People in London.

Resolved, That this Resolution, along with those voted at a former sitting of this Convention, (*page 11 and 12,*) be transmitted, by the Chairman, to the Society of the Friends of the People in London.

And the same was ordered accordingly.

Mr. Fowler read the copy of the Petition to Parliament which had been ordered; and it met with general approbation, as to the matter of it; and was remitted back to the Committee, to be put into the form appointed by the House of Commons, and thereafter transmitted to the different Societies for approbation.

Mr. Wilson then brought forward the plan of Organization, for the different bodies of the Friends of the People; after reading over the whole of it, the Convention recognised the right of individual Societies to regulate their own internal order, and resolved, That these words be inserted, "with power to any ten towns, in which there is a Society of the Friends of the People, to call a General Convention*."

* The Plan of Organization to be revised and published by the Edinburgh Association.
Mr.

Mr. Morthland next brought forward the following Motion, proposed by Mr. Ritchie, of Edinburgh.

Moved, That the Secretary to this Convention transmit to the Secretary of Burgeses, associated for the purpose of obtaining a Reform in the internal government of the Royal Boroughs of Scotland, a letter inclosing the Resolutions, containing the declaration of principles drawn up and published by this Convention, and recommending to the Burgeses, if the above declaration of principles meets their approbation, to co-operate with the Friends of the People in the common cause of obtaining the great objects of Reform expressed in these Resolutions.

In place of this Motion, the following was submitted by Mr. Skirving, and seconded by Capt. Johnston and others.

Moved, That if any Members of the Association for Borough Reform apply to the Friends of the People to be admitted, they will be received cordially. But the Convention can admit no Societies, but Societies of the Friends of the People.

After a long debate, the votes were taken, and the first Motion was negatived, and the second adopted.

Upon the Motion of Dr. Yule, an Address to the Citizens of Britain at large was unanimously resolved, and a Committee appointed to draw up the same.

The following Motion, submitted by Mr. Ellis, was likewise unanimously resolved :

That it be recommended to the People to form Associations in every county, composed of Members from the different Societies in that county, in order to ascertain the state of population, the number of electors, the quantity of taxes paid, the partial taxes, and the local grievances of that county. That they publish the same, or transmit them to the Committee of Finance at Edinburgh.

Mr. Fowler then moved, " That the thanks of the Convention be returned to Convener Lindsay, of Coltbridge, and the other Friends of Liberty, who, in a liberal and manly manner, refuted the aspersions thrown on the conduct and intentions of the FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE, in the late meeting of the Fourteen Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh ;" the same was unanimously agreed to, and the Convention expressed their sense of the benefit which was done to the cause by the patriotic conduct of that Meeting at large.

CAPTAIN JOHNSTON in the Chair.

Resumed the consideration of Mr. Allan's motion of yesterday ; when sundry Members thinking that it was expressed substantially in the second general Resolution, (*page 11*;) now printed, Mr. Allan agreed to withdraw it.

It was then resolved, that the thanks of the Convention be given to the Secretary, Mr. Skirving, for his unremitting application to the business of the Society ; and that a small Committee be appointed to assist him in extending and publishing the proceedings of this Convention.

John Millar, Esq. Advocate, called the attention of the Convention to certain Resolutions in the Edinburgh Herald of the day, of which the following is a copy :

" We

“ We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being unanimously and decidedly of Opinion, That for the security and happiness of all classes of our Fellow-countrymen, for the maintenance of our own Rights and Liberties, and for those of our posterity, it is, in the present moment, incumbent upon us, and all good Subjects, to give to the Executive Government an effectual Support in counteracting the Efforts of Sedition, and in suppressing, in their beginnings, all Tumults and Riots, on whatever pretence they may be excited; do hereby publicly declare our Determination to take all such steps for these Purposes as are within the limits of our duty in the several stations in which the Constitution of our country has placed us, and to afford, by our individual exertions, that active assistance to the authority of the lawful Magistrate, and to the lawful Magistrate, and to the maintenance of the established Government, which is at all times due from the subjects of this free and happy kingdom; but which we feel to be more peculiarly necessary at a time when insidious attempts have been made to deceive and mislead the unwary.

“ With these sentiments, and to this intent, we are

“ RESOLVED, AND DO DECLARE,

“ That we will stand by the Constitution with our lives and fortunes.

“ That we will jointly and individually use our utmost endeavours to counteract all seditious attempts, and, in particular, all Associations for the publication or dispersion of seditious and inflammatory writings, or tending to excite disorders and tumults within this part of the kingdom.

“ That we will, on every occasion, exert ourselves on the first appearance of tumult or disorder, to maintain the public peace, and to act in support of the Civil authority for suppressing all riots and tumults that may be excited.

“ And whereas we are of opinion that it would greatly conduce to the maintenance of peace and good order, that means should be used to give such just and proper information to our fellow-subjects as may tend to remove the false and delusive opinions that have been industriously circulated amongst them, and to impress on their minds a proper sense of the invaluable blessings secured to this nation by our happy Constitution: we have agreed diligently to promote the circulation of such writings as may contribute to this important end.”

Having read these Resolutions, he moved, that the Convention do approve of the same, and in testimony of such approbation, that the President and Secretary, with as many of the Delegates as still remain in town, shall subscribe the paper now lying in Goldsmith's Hall.

Mr. Morthland seconded the Motion.

Some Delegates, particularly Mr. Christie of Laurencekirk, doubted the propriety of the Motion. Notwithstanding of which it was resolved, That the Delegates, in parties of eight or ten at a time, should go down and subscribe the same; adding to their names, Friend of the People, or Delegate, &c.

Upon the President and a few more withdrawing for that purpose, Mr. John Clark, Architect, was called to the Chair, when after some conversation, the meeting was adjourned till six o'clock in the Evening.

The

The Delegates having once more assembled, conform to adjournment Mr. Bisset from Dundee, was unanimously called to the Chair.

MR. BISSET in the Chair.

The Convention resolved, That a great number of their Resolutions and Minutes be printed, and sent to all the Societies, and committed the same to the direction of the Committee of Finance at Edinburgh; and Mr. Muir moved, that the Secretary be enjoined to give sufficient notice to the Edinburgh Committee of Finance, that they were likewise appointed the Committee of Finance for the General Convention; and upon the Secretary's motion, the following instructions drawn up by Mr. Muir, were unanimously recommended to their observation.

To the Committee of Finances of the Edinburgh Convention.

“ The General Convention has instructed each particular Society, to form a Committee of Finance, for managing their own private and public contributions. The Convention has requested you to take the management of the expences which their sittings here may have incurred. In this department of their business, they consider you as their Committee. The particular Societies will transmit to you their respective proportions of the general expence. The first General Convention has left each particular Society to the freedom of their own will, in regard to the different assessments they may lay upon their members.”

“ You will keep a regular account of the public expenditure and outlay, which you will lay before each General Convention for their examination.”

“ As soon as you have collected the amount of the general expence, inform each particular Society by a circular Letter, in order that the Societies may, without delay, transmit to you their respective proportions.”

A respectable Member informed the convention, that a Society had been just now formed upon the principles of the Friends of the People, whose Members in general, were gentlemen of landed property to a very considerable Extent.

Mr. Morthland moved, that the Thanks of the Convention be returned to Mr. Fowler, for his eminent Services in the business of the Convention; and the same were given Unanimously.

It was then moved by Mr. Drummond, to thank the country Delegates, for their ardent zeal in the Cause, manifested by coming up so numerously at this inclement Season, and for their disinterested conduct during the Sitting; and this was done with heart-felt Satisfaction.

Mr. Bisset in the Chair, begged leave to move the return of Thanks from the country Delegates, to those in Town and Neighbourhood, for the Care and Attention to the Cause which they had manifested, in assembling so opportunely and properly a Convention of the Societies of the FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE. And to this the country Delegates heartily consented.

The President then addressed the Delegates, exhorting them to persevere in the Great and Good Cause in which they had embarked, until their Object should be completely attained.

The warm Approbation with which the Convention received this Sentiment, sufficiently expressed their Concurrence in it, and their firm Determination to persevere.

Adjourned.

W. SKIRVING, SECRETARY.

L I S T

OF THE

Secret Committee of the House of Lords,

The Lord Chancellor,
Lord Privy Seal,
Duke of Leeds,
Duke of Portland,
Earl of Hardwicke,

The Earl of Carlisle,
Earl of Carnarvon,
Earl of Chatham,
Earl of Mansfield,

L I S T

OF THE

Secret Committee of the House of Commons.

Right Hon. William Pitt,
Right Hon. Henry Dundas,
Right Hon. Welbore Ellis,
Right Hon. William Wyndham,
The Attorney General,
The Solicitor General,
Lord Advocate of Scotland,
Thomas Grenville, Esq.
Right Hon. Thomas Steele,
R. Hon. the Master of the Rolls.
Hon. R. Banks Jenkinson,

Sir H. Hoghton,
Earl of Upper Ossory,
Thomas Powys, Esq.
Earl of Mornington,
Lord Mulgrave,
Isaac Hawkins Browne, Esq.
John Anstruther, Esq.
Thomas Stanley, Esq.
Right Hon. Charles Townshend,
Right Hon. Edmund Burke,

L I S T

OF THE

Secret Committee of the House of Lords.

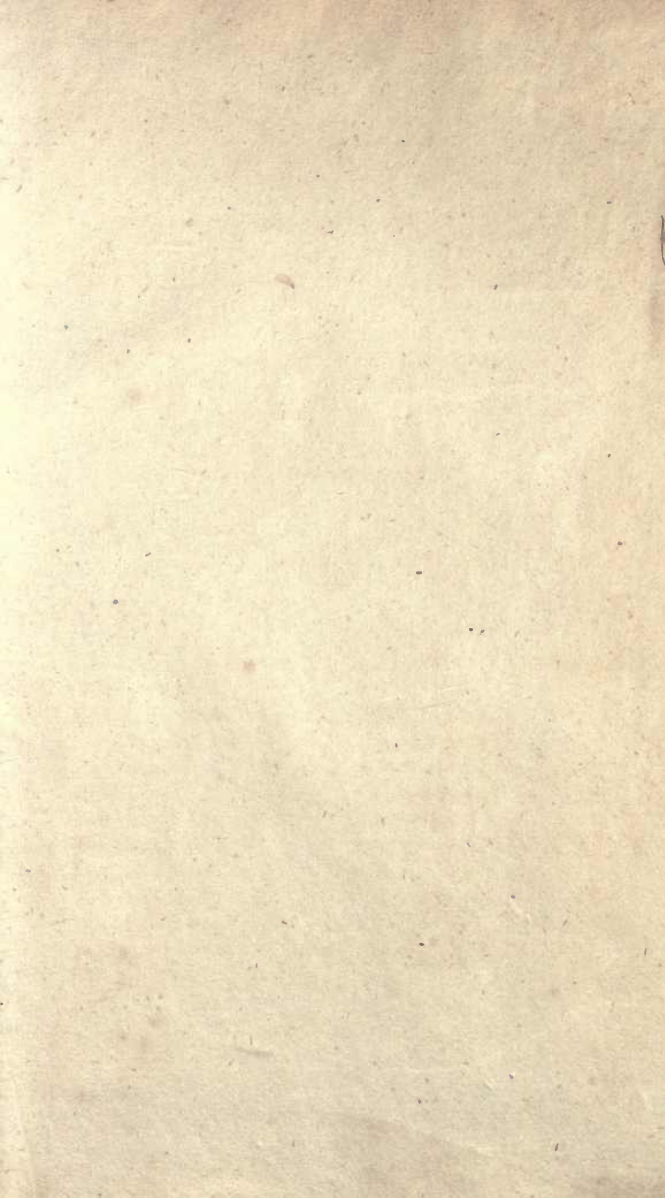
The Lord Chancellor,	The Earl of Carlisle,
Lord Privy Seal,	Earl of Cambridge,
Duke of Leeds,	Earl of Chatham,
Duke of Devonshire,	Earl of Mansfield,
Earl of Harborough,	

L I S T

OF THE

Secret Committee of the House of Commons.

Right Hon. William Pitt,	Sir H. Hodgson,
Right Hon. Henry Dundas,	Earl of Upper Ossory,
Right Hon. Welbore Ellis,	Thomas Powys, Esq.
Right Hon. William Wyndham,	Earl of Mountbatten,
The Attorney General,	Lord Melbourn,
The Solicitor General,	Sir Isaac Hawkins Browne, Esq.
Lord Advocate of Scotland,	John Ansell, Esq.
Thomas Grenville, Esq.	Thomas Sturt, Esq.
Right Hon. Thomas Sturt,	Right Hon. Charles Townshend,
H. Hon. the Master of the Rolls,	Right Hon. Edmund Burke,
Hon. R. Banks, Kensington,	



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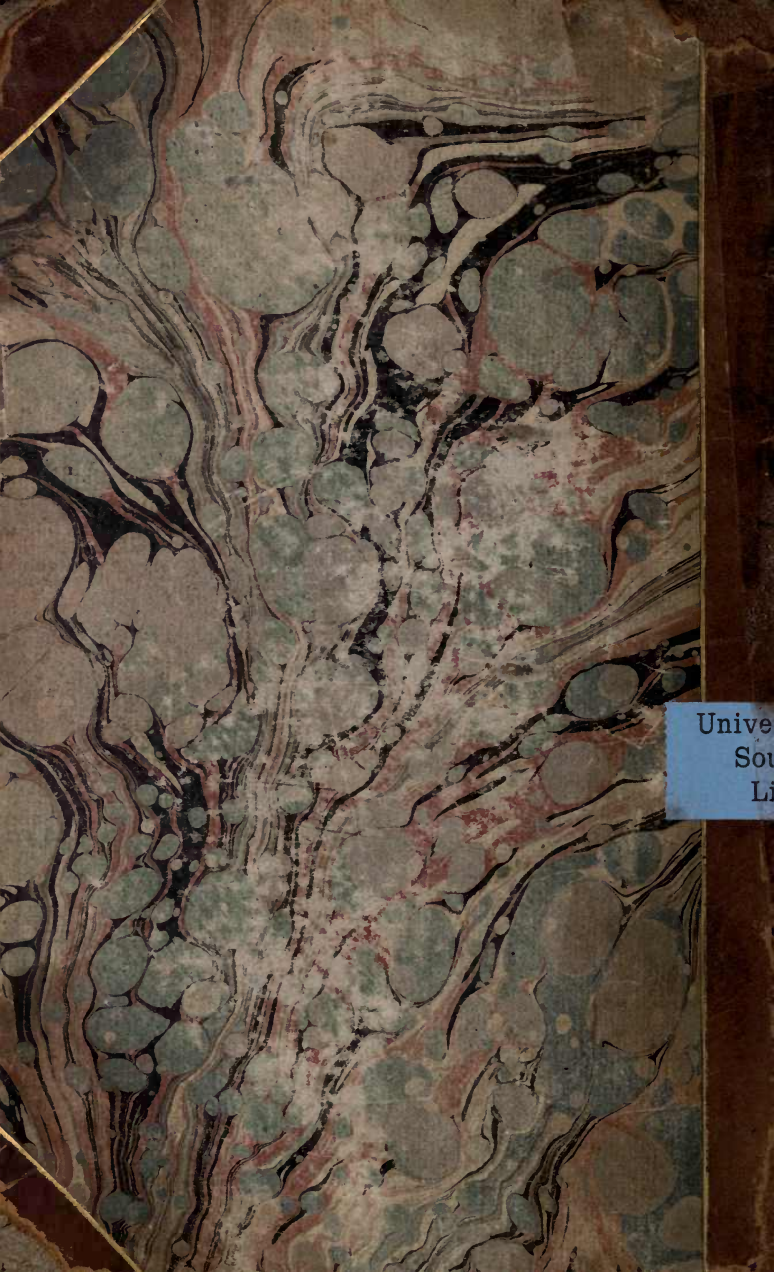


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